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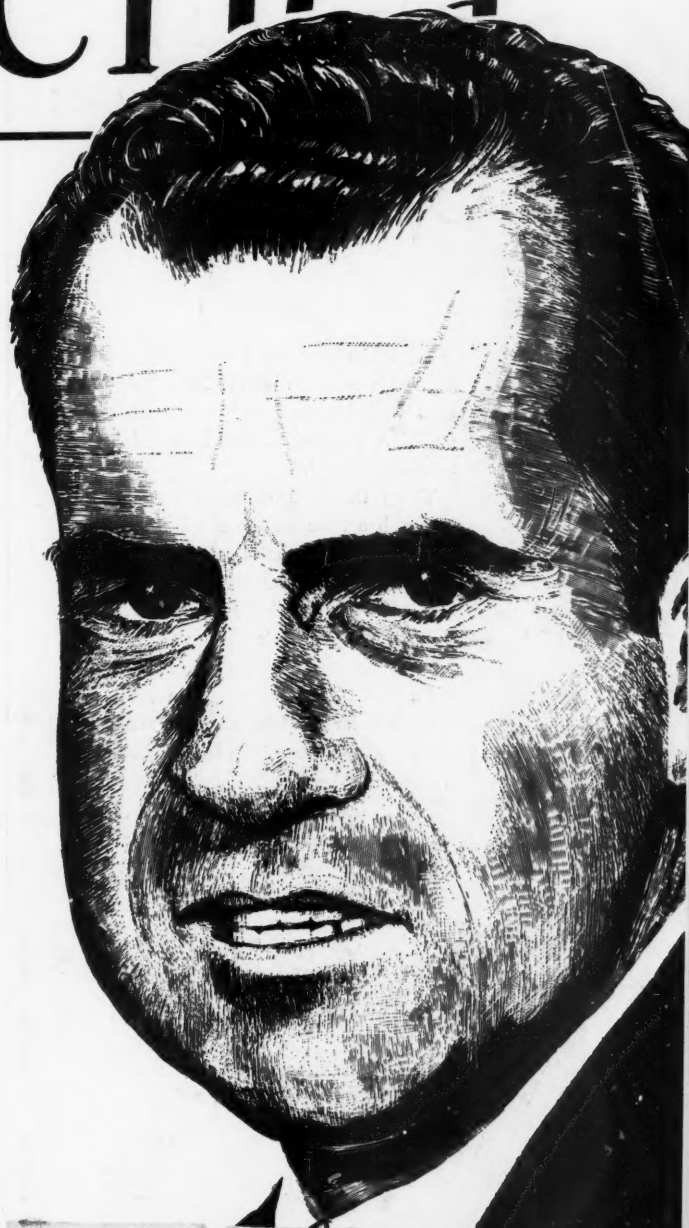
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America

The Foreign Policies of Richard Milhous Nixon

by Robert Pell

25 cents



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America

National Catholic Weekly Review

Vol. 104 No. 2 October 8, 1960 Whole Number 2679

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OCT 6 1960

Correspondence

Whose Ox?

EDITOR: I can see no consistency between your justified editorial protest against prejudice in the case of *Common Sense* and your acceptance of a paid advertisement for a free copy of *National Review* in the same issue (9/3, pp. 591 and 604). Conde McGinley's sheet could scarcely improve upon the latter's inclusion, with malice aforethought, in one short paragraph of three words purposefully designed, as used, to create prejudice and hate, namely, "Harvard," "egghead" and "Marxian." My ox is not only gored; it is infuriated. And I am left wondering as to whether the selling price for the jewel of consistency is still thirty pieces of silver.

ARTHUR D. WELCH

Portland, Me.

Touchy Subject

EDITOR: Kinderhook to the support of Auriesville. We agree with Fr. de Maria (9/10, p. 605) and UNICO on the subject of Italian names in crime films and TV programs.

Let script writers raise their sights and explore the implications of Chesterton's statement in his life of Francis of Assisi: three-quarters of the great men the world has known came from Italian soil.

(Mrs.) LEROY J. HOLBERT
Kinderhook, N. Y.

Seats Not Free

EDITOR: Catholic school children have already paid for the bus seats they are denied. Phrases like "free bus transportation for parochial school pupils" (9/17, p. 629) and "free bus rides for children in private schools" (9/17, p. 640) undo me!

SAMANTHA DIETZ

Cleveland, Ohio

Unity Among Men

EDITOR: After reading AMERICA's recent discussions of politics, of Mass in the vernacular and other subjects, I have been waiting for someone to bring out a basic Christian truth which seems to have slipped out of circulation. It is the fact that Christianity is not an individual enterprise but a corporate endeavor.

When we think of the basic Christian teaching, this is obvious. Much of it tends to stop evil from breeding more evil. It directs us to accept the malice and not to

return it; to end the chain of ill-will when it reaches us, and to initiate, extend and propagate only the good.

Clearly this is too large a project for a solitary individual. He will be overwhelmed; he will be sunk without a trace. The extinction of malice and the spread of kindness have to operate in some state of mutuality. Christ did not seek out individuals except to bring them into a group. The prayer He gave us is not given in the singular but in the plural.

Certainly we have lost a great deal of the communal Christian spirit. This is especially unfortunate now in these weeks, when animosity is being kindled against the Catholic ensemble, under the shield of politics. What is called for here is a single

massive refusal to make a bad matter worse. If we allow this hate to breed responsive hate in us, we shall have failed as a community. We shall have failed to trust in God's own teaching. We shall have failed to serve the States that are, and must remain, United.

MARY DOLAN

New York, N. Y.

Nature of Prejudice

EDITOR: I read with interest your report (8/27, p. 567) that the Archdeacon of Oxford said there was no "serious ground" for a complaint of anti-Semitism in the Oberammergau Passion Play.

What amazed me was your concluding statement about the "absence of racial bias" in the famous play at Oberammergau. Since when is anti-Semitism the same as racial bias?

EDWARD MARCINIAK

Chicago, Ill.

Joseph B. Schuyler, S.J.'s

NORTHERN PARISH

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As a living social system the parish can be studied sociologically as well as any other social system. The sociologist is professionally interested in analyzing the Catholic parish because it is an important part of the total social structure in our world. The Catholic priest and apostolic layman is interested because on the parish's vitality depends the vigor of the whole of Christ's Church. NORTHERN PARISH uses the concepts and techniques of the sociologist to explore the structure and functioning of a thriving parish in the heart of New York City. NORTHERN PARISH, \$8, has xxi & 360 pages, detailed questionnaires, censuses, and analyses of use to the social scientist and religious leader.

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Current Comment

MRA and Khrushchev

As if there were not already enough confusion of minds in the New York area, the Moral Rearmament movement has complicated matters with its own propaganda. In the first frenzied week of the UN General Assembly, MRA—the semi-religious organization founded by Dr. Frank N. Buchman—distributed 6,250,000 copies of an anti-Communist pamphlet to residents of New York, New Jersey and Connecticut.

The MRA pamphlet which New York area citizens found in their mailboxes is entitled *Ideology and Coexistence*. In circulation for almost two years, it has figured in saturation-type promotion in other countries. The MRA statement provided the point of departure for the article, "Moral Rearmament—The Answer to Communism?" which Associate Editor Robert A. Graham, S.J., wrote in our issue of Nov. 28, 1959 (now available in a separate printing through America Press; see advertisement, p. 50).

The authors of the MRA pamphlet argue that communism is an ideology and can be defeated only by a superior ideology. So far, so good. Most readers, however, will be only superficially impressed by the flimsy evidence offered that MRA has such a "superior ideology" or that it is destined to stop communism. This proof consists almost exclusively in testimonials from prominent persons, most of whom were indulging in hyperbole.

World communism is too profound and dangerous a problem to be countered in any serious way by an organization whose alleged ideology is virtually nonexistent, however much MRA may trade on the ambiguities of such a high-sounding phrase as "moral rearmament."

"Free" Soviet Republics

Mr. Khrushchev was on safe ground on Sept. 23 when, during his UN talkathon, he boasted of the "freedom" the October Revolution had brought to Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kirghizia, et al.

Few of his UN audience (and perhaps fewer Americans) were in a position to contest his claims. For these are the Central Asian republics before which an Iron Curtain clanked down in the early 1920's.

The Soviet Premier might just as well have included Shangri-La in his itemized list of "free" republics.

The fact is that these peoples of Central Asia have been subjected to a colonialism more ruthless than any experienced at the hands of the Western powers. In his study, *The Soviet Peoples of the Far East* (Praeger, 1954), Walter Kolarz spreads the devastating story of Soviet imperialism in Asia on the record. In Central Asia the Soviets have destroyed native economies, subjected "national territories" to "mass colonization by Europeans," liquidated the intellectual elite, persecuted religious minorities, and "suppressed those historical and cultural traditions which are essential to the survival of the national consciousness of any given ethnic group."

As Mr. Kolarz goes on to point out, communism of its very nature cannot aim to preserve national groups and minorities. Their right to exist depends on the value of their contributions to the cause of communism. Failing that, they are exterminated. Ask the people of Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and the other "republics" of which Mr. Khrushchev talks so glibly.

Colonial Roll Call

Colonialism is in full retreat in the West. More than thirty nations have gained independence since 1945.

This shrinkage of once-mighty empires does not satisfy Nikita Khrushchev. On Sept. 23 he asked the United Nations to adopt a resolution that would grant freedom to all remaining colonial and trust areas "immediately."

The U.S. reply to this gem of irresponsible diplomacy was given at once by James J. Wadsworth, our new representative at the UN:

This is a strange demand indeed from a country whose imperialism

has embraced more people, more territory and more oppression than anything else the 20th century has ever seen.

Just for the record, let us recall the names of the Captive Nations which currently bear the Soviet yoke. The ones named in both the Democratic and Republican platforms of 1960 are these: Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Rumania.

Is that the full dolorous tally of subject peoples? By no means. Another part of the Soviet empire embraces the folk first conquered by the Czars but still subject to Moscow, among whom even agitation for freedom is treated as treason. This is a long list that is only begun after we have named Byelorussians, Georgians, Kazakhs, Tartars and Ukrainians.

A third part of the new Russian colonial empire sweeps east to Outer Mongolia and North Korea. It is a part that, unless the United Nations stands firm and grows in prestige and influence, may soon spread west through Africa and even to the Western Hemisphere.

We all realize that colonialism must go. The 19th-century variety is dissolving before our eyes. It will be a supreme tragedy of history if it is supplanted by the 20th-century brand that emanates from Moscow.

In Poland: Eloquent Silence

Before Wladyslaw Gomulka, First Secretary of the Polish Reds, left Warsaw for the UN General Assembly, he took care to muffle the Catholic Church. The Polish bishops were persuaded to postpone publication of a vigorous pastoral protesting the growing anti-religious policies of the regime. The protest was to have been read from the pulpits in all Poland on Sept. 18. The pastoral, said the regime, would embarrass the Polish Government and harm Polish interests at the UN if it came out during the Assembly.

The letter is reported to be one of the most frank declarations of recent years. It states that the faith of the Polish people is facing great danger from the attacks of official atheism; it complains of the regime's attempt to suppress religious instruction in the schools; it says, furthermore, that when

Catholics try to defend themselves, they are accused of being enemies of progress.

That a pastoral protest is so strong and cogent as to make the Reds fear its international repercussions, at least during the UN General Assembly, is a sign of the gravity of Church-State relations in Poland. We sympathize with the Polish bishops, who chose to postpone airing their just grievances. It would not be wise, perhaps, to give the Gomulka regime the pretext for charging the Church with anti-Polish action. But if Polish interests are hurt by reports of religious persecution, the blame for this should be pinned on the authors of this policy, not on its victims.

The Captive Mike

The UN, which has seen them come and go in turbans, tarbooshes, African tribal robes and frock coats, saw Premier Castro of Cuba at the speaker's podium on Sept. 26 in his green fatigues. Like Cato the Censor, who never appeared before the Roman senate without crying "*Carthago delenda est*," Castro worked over once more his constant theme of the iniquities of the United States.

Why did he spend four hours and twenty minutes of the valuable time of several hundred UN delegates on that theme? Obviously, he was both on the defensive and the offensive. He is keenly aware that the Organization of American States *did* ride along last month, even if only after considerable prodding by the United States, with the condemnation of his extrahemispheric flirtation with Peiping and Moscow. He knows too that since then all the Latin American republics (except himself and Trujillo) have joined together in a vast program of social and economic reform—with the United States in the enviable role of initiator of the idea and friend of the downtrodden.

Castro was on the offensive, too. He is smart enough to know that besides his friends in the Communist camp he needs some from among the neutrals. He had to try to prove therefore, to the African nations, as well as to his fellow Latin Americans, that his is a *just* revolution. He attempted to do this with a long tale of U.S. villainies, and the older those villainies were, the more Castro developed them. As one com-

mentator pointed out, he devoted twenty minutes to the year 1899 alone.

On balance, the Cuban Premier's long tirade probably changed no one's mind. But it did give a mighty tweak to the nose of the former Colossus of the North—and its author thoroughly enjoyed getting away with it.

Trouble in Laos

With Mr. Khrushchev out to wreck the UN in New York, tiny Laos can hardly claim the undivided attention of the world body. Nevertheless, the UN, already up to its knees in the problems of the Congo, may yet be called upon to face a similar situation in the Southeast Asian kingdom. The three-cornered civil war in Laos is highly explosive.

At the moment, rebel anti-Communist forces under Gen. Phoumi Nosavan are poised to attack the Laotian capital of Vientiane, stronghold of Premier Souvanna Phouma, a neutralist with leftist leanings. The Pathet Lao, an armed Communist organization in control of the country's two northernmost provinces, is again on the move.

The danger is that this three-way internal struggle for power in Laos will spill over and involve neighboring countries. Thailand has expressed its contempt for Souvanna Phouma, whom it judges (perhaps rashly) to be "100-per-cent Communist." It has indicated it will support General Nosavan. But intervention by Thailand could invite invasion by Red-ruled North Vietnam. The conflict in Laos would thus be internationalized—a development the UN could scarcely ignore.

No less concerned is the United States. Laos has long been considered a natural bulwark against Communist advance in Southeast Asia. With this in mind, we have poured into it some \$40 million a year in aid. Also with this in mind we have been urging General Nosavan to compose his differences with Premier Souvanna Phouma. With the Pathet Lao again attacking in the north, what Laos needs is unity.

We Can Dream, Can't We?

Hickory, dickory . . . whoosh!
A spooknik soared off with Khroosh.
The whole world clucked
at Nick's hard luck
But gave him an extra poosh.

Labor's Zero Hour

What the British Labor party is debating this week at Scarborough in England is not merely its policy on nuclear armaments but possibly its entire future as an effective national party. Unless we seriously misjudge the temper of the British people, it is unthinkable that they would ever entrust their lives and fortunes to a party committed to neutralism or pacifism.

How ironic it is that this latest crisis in Labor's affairs should have been precipitated by the leader of the giant trade union once headed by the great Ernest Bevin. At last month's meeting of the Trades Union Congress, it was none other than Frank Cousins, general secretary of the Transport and General Workers Union, who led the fight to forsake unilaterally any use, strategic or tactical, of nuclear weapons. He persisted in this suicidal, escapist course even after opposing speakers had pointed out that the adoption of nuclear "unilateralism" would be tantamount to Britain's repudiation of the Nato alliance.

For Hugh Gaitskill, leader of the Labor party, the convention necessarily assumes the character of a personal life-and-death political struggle. Last year his efforts to rewrite the stale paragraphs on public ownership in the party's constitution were rebuffed by Mr. Cousins and his doctrinaire allies. If he is defeated now on the question of nuclear arms and Britain's Nato commitment, he would appear to have no choice but to resign. Should this happen, a new political alignment in Britain would be inevitable. To such a pass has Ernie Bevin's successor brought a once proud and powerful party.

Melkite Catholics Vindicated

Byzantine-rite Catholics won an important point in a recent unpublicized decision taken by Pope John XXIII. The Holy Father reversed a December, 1959 decree of the Holy Office prohibiting the liturgical use of English in that rite. The order had been vigorously protested by, among others, the Melkite Patriarch of Antioch, Maximos IV, who appealed directly to the Pope early this year.

But the now-nullified decree had been challenged as an infringement

on the ancient prerogatives of the Byzantine-rite priests, who are accustomed to use the language of the region in which they celebrate. The Holy Father's answer to the protests came in an instruction dated March 31. Any language, including English, can be used by the priests of the Byzantine rite, according to the Sept. 9 London *Catholic Herald*, which reported the Vatican's action.

The accusation is frequently voiced in dissident Orthodox circles that Rome is bent on Latinizing the Eastern Church and even on abolishing entirely its rights and customs. Suspicions on this score have long hindered progress toward East-West religious conciliation. On the eve of the ecumenical council Pope John has shown once again his sincere desire to reduce or eliminate grounds for a centuries-old estrangement.

Black and White

When Ghana's Premier Nkrumah, addressing the UN General Assembly, used the term "blackmail," and another swarthy spokesman cautioned against "denigration," many a sensitive listener must have noted just how tinged our language is with color symbols.

"One of the whitest men I ever knew," says Mark Twain flatteringly. "That's white of you," we often hear. Said absent-mindedly to a Filipino, the phrase brought a smiling but meaningful retort: "And that's brown of you!"

A quick trip to the dictionary will reveal some of the slippery semantics of "black." For a very long time it has had a derogatory flavor among "white" peoples. Even the Greeks called a bad humor "melancholy," that is, "black bile." More recently the Russians have coined the word for "rabble" out of "black."

Of course, not all of this has a racist source. A "black eye" connotes honest discomfort, not disdain. To be "in the black" is surely preferable to being "in the red," especially in American English. Yet a partiality against blackness is surely echoed in much idiom and slang: mail, markets, magic, arts, flags, books, Fridays, marks and Marias can all be "black."

With the usage so entrenched there may be little we can do, except recall that "white" is not all "white." "White

hopes," "white-haired favorites," "white-collar workers," "whitewashed faults" are all slightly tainted. And the less said the better about "white slavery," "white trash," "white supremacists" and "White Citizens' Councils"—bad words all.

Conversely, Dominicans are known as "Blackfriars." And Jesuits are quite happy with the sobriquet "Blackrobes." They've been called worse.

The Baptist Image

How to denounce the idea of a Catholic in the White House without sounding anti-Catholic? It's a nice question. Of course, it is not everybody's problem, but some Baptists are becoming concerned about it.

One man who worries about "the Baptist image" that is being created by pronouncements on "the religious issue" is W. Barry Garrett, associate director of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs. Mr. Garrett recently posed "the problem of opposing the social and political purposes and program of the Roman Catholic Church, while maintaining our position of respect for the individual Roman Catholic and his right to religious freedom."

"Sometimes," Mr. Garrett warned, "we might quite unintentionally make the impression of being bigoted, and our witness is damaged as much as if the charges were true."

Take for example a speech given by the Rev. Harvey Springer, pastor of the First Baptist Church of Englewood, Colo., the day after Mr. Garrett spoke.

"If a Catholic says he doesn't owe his allegiance to Rome, he's either a liar or an imbecile," Dr. Springer declared. "The Roman Church is a government. The Pope is its dictator." But as for us, "We were born in prayer as a Protestant nation. Our Constitution is a Protestant Constitution."

An incautious reader might jump to the conclusion that Dr. Springer is a teeny bit bigoted.

Mixed Neighborhoods

When the first Negro family moves into a white neighborhood, grave concern exists over the possible impact on the housing market. Far more grave, of course, are the potential repercussions in schools, churches, community

centers and other activities organized on a neighborhood basis. In view of this, some sober conclusions newly reported by two social scientists merit careful examination. They may serve to lessen the danger from panicky reactions so often encountered in areas facing such a transition.

The Commission on Race and Housing, an independent, private citizens' group, continues its investigation of that troubling social problem with the publication of another study. Two professors from the University of Pennsylvania, Chester Rapkin and William G. Grigsby, now report on *The Demand for Housing in Racially Mixed Areas* (U. of Calif. Press, Berkeley 4, Calif. \$6).

Three discoveries cited by these researchers point to the existence of a new trend in minority housing:

- Many whites will buy houses, they find, in mixed neighborhoods, whether or not they object to Negro neighbors.
- Negroes are not necessarily disadvantaged in mortgage negotiations, but may even receive better mortgage terms.
- Negroes are not necessarily compelled to pay more for housing than whites.

Concretely, they found that of 2,017 purchases of homes for owner-occupancy, 443 were by whites and 1,574 by Negro families. In other words, there is serious reason to question the premise that once Negroes enter a neighborhood, no white will purchase in the area.

It remains true that whites manifest reluctance to purchase homes next door to Negroes. The hopeful ray emerging from the present study, however, is that some limited change in attitudes has taken place.

Foreign Aid a Bargain

In normal times the annual convention of the American Bankers Association would be worth a front-page story or two. This year, however, the association had the misfortune to meet not merely during the most dramatic of all UN Assembly sessions but in a hotel within shouting distance of UN headquarters on the East River. As a consequence only those who plod through the financial pages of the better metropolitan dailies were able to follow the bankers' deliberations.

What we liked most about the ABA meeting were some remarks on foreign aid at the closing session on Sept. 21 by W. Randolph Burgess, our Nato Ambassador. Before an audience acutely concerned over the international balance of payments and the outflow of gold, Mr. Burgess scorned all concessions. Foreign aid, he said, had to go on: it was the cheapest and most effective way of gaining our global objectives, including peace in our times. Although the absolute sum of U.S. outlays abroad was large, it was small relatively—and growing smaller all the time. In the early 1950's, it was more than two per cent of our gross national product; today it is less than one per cent. Furthermore, Mr. Burgess noted, an increasing proportion of our foreign aid is now extended in the form of loans, much of which is spent in the United States, where it creates jobs and doesn't strain the balance of payments.

Since our Nato Ambassador is himself a former banker, his words should have a reassuring effect far beyond the ABA membership.

Sleeping Issue

When a new Congress convenes next January, there will be a fight worth watching between liberals and conservatives. The conflict arises from the fact that in each session of Congress between twelve and fifteen thousand bills are introduced, most of them in the House of Representatives. Some system of traffic control is necessary to regulate the flow of bills and keep the House from being swamped. Control is exercised by the powerful House Rules Committee, which decides which bills may come to the floor for a vote.

Dominated by a coalition of Republicans and conservative Democrats, the Rules Committee frequently shunts

aside liberal legislation. Liberals are eager to break the committee's power and open up the bottleneck.

The Senate largely lacks the traffic controls of the House. But a minority can delay or block legislation by taking advantage of the Senate's tradition of unlimited debate to talk a bill to death. Current Senate rules allow closure of debate only by two-thirds vote of the Senators present. Liberal Democrats will propose additional restrictions in January.

Richard M. Nixon reflects conservative economic views by stating that as President he would not favor restricting the present powers of the House Rules Committee. But he does want to change Senate rules to ensure easier action on civil rights legislation. John F. Kennedy, with an extensive program of legislation in mind, presumably favors changes in both House and Senate rules.

—Anti-Catholic Sentiment in the West—

NO TWO STATES in the Union are really alike. Sometimes you cross a border here in the East and note a striking difference between old neighbors—Maryland and Virginia, for example. The same phenomenon exists on the West Coast, where this reporter has been making one of those ear-to-the-ground political surveys.

In California, the natives tell you with pride, there is very little anti-Catholic sentiment. To the traveler comes a thought: What irony if it were otherwise, considering the history of this land that owes so much to Catholic missionaries, the lovely names they bequeathed it (Los Angeles, San Francisco, Sacramento, San Diego, Santa Monica, Santa Barbara and so on) and the fact that California honors Fr. Junípero Serra in Statuary Hall here in the United States Capitol.

Naturally, California is not altogether free of religious prejudice; some has been brought in by new residents, who are pouring into the Golden State now at the rate of 500,000 a year. Anyway, it is for reasons other than religion that California has to be listed as a doubtful State.

Traveling northward toward Oregon, you learn from newspapermen and others that anti-Catholic sentiment is rampant there. Political railbirds in Portland say that it may cost Sen. John F. Kennedy whatever chance he had to carry that predominantly Democratic State.

Why should Oregon be so different from nearby California? Possibly, the answer is to be found in old newspaper files; back in the 'Twenties, Oregon was a stronghold of the Ku Klux Klan, a hate outfit that many people have always associated with the South.

Next the traveler comes to Seattle, metropolis of Washington. They tell you here that religious prejudice is almost nonexistent in the Evergreen State, and you have to believe it when you look at the roster of State officials. Five of them are Catholics—Gov. Albert D. Rosellini, Lieut. Gov. John Cherberg, Secretary of State Victor A. Meyers, Insurance Commissioner William Sullivan and Attorney General John O'Connell.

All five are running for re-election this year. Ordinarily, you are assured, the fact that they are Catholics would attract no particular attention; anyway, it didn't when they last ran. But this time there is piled on top of a slate already loaded with Catholics a Democratic Presidential nominee who also happens to be a Catholic.

This has caused some talk. Even so, the Seattle pundits say, Senator Kennedy must be rated a favorite to capture Washington in the November election.

Finally, there is Alaska. If there is any prejudice against Senator Kennedy there because of his faith, it wasn't evident in Anchorage. The Democratic standard bearer is a strong favorite to win Alaska's three electoral votes.

EDWARD T. FOLLIARD

MR. FOLLIARD has been traveling for the Washington (D. C.) Post.

Washington Front

Why All the Excitement?

SEN. JOHN F. KENNEDY and Vice President Richard M. Nixon are conducting more active campaigns this year than have any two Presidential candidates in a long time. Each seems to feel that the hours between sunup and midnight have been wasted if he delivers fewer than half a dozen speeches, rides in only five motorcades, and shakes no more than a thousand hands.

The findings of voting-behavior studies of the last five elections cast some doubt on the value of such efforts. These studies indicate a) that the independent voter who listens to all the speeches and reads all the comments before making up his mind is a political myth; b) that it is those who are partisan who follow the campaigns; and c) that those who make up their minds or change their vote at the last minute are generally the least well-informed of all voters.

The studies suggest that even dramatic speeches and events can have little effect upon the voters' choice. The Eisenhower promise to go to Korea was not, according to the surveys, a significant factor in the 1952 election. The Suez crisis apparently caused a shift of less than one per cent of the voters to Eisenhower. Regular sampling of voter sentiment before and after the crisis showed that a majority of voters never thought Stevenson was a good foreign-policy bet in spite of the efforts he made to develop a favorable view

of his understanding of international problems. Had there been no Korean promise and no Suez crisis, the winner in 1952 and 1956 would have been the same man and by about the same margin.

If the habits of voters run true to form in 1960, Kennedy supporters will watch Kennedy programs and approve his views. Nixon followers will attend Nixon meetings and find confirmation of their wisdom in backing him. Except when trapped by the scheduled television debates, most interested voters will not even listen to the opposition candidate. The few Nixon people who hear Kennedy will once more note that he is too young and inexperienced, while the Kennedy followers, after hearing Nixon, will somehow be reminded of the Checkers speech.

If these studies are correct, and if their findings are applicable to 1960, is the frenzied campaigning of the two principals somewhat irrational? Probably not. Campaign activities are intended to renew the enthusiasm of the faithful at least as much as to capture the neutrals or convert the enemy. Party workers who get voters registered and out to the polls will ring doorbells to the extent that candidates have inspired them to do so. If the candidate relaxes, so do the workers.

The election this year, if Mr. Gallup's poll is accurate, may be as close as the one in 1948. Neither candidate is likely to alter the views of even five per cent of the potential voters. One of them, however, may move his party workers to get out favorably inclined voters who stay at home unless prodded. The votes of these people could determine the outcome of the election.

HOWARD PENNIMAN

On All Horizons

ADULT EDUCATION. Pittsburgh will host the National Catholic Adult Education Commission conference, Oct. 21-23. Bishop John J. Wright will speak at the first general session and Msgr. Francis W. Carney at the banquet. Accommodations at the Penn-Sheraton Hotel.

► **MILITANT UNIONIST.** Gaston Tessier, "the grand old man" of the Christian trade movement in France, died in Paris, Aug. 8, at the age of 73. He became the first secretary general of the French Confederation of Christian Workers in 1919. At the time of his death he was president of the International Confederation of Christian Trade Unions. At the age of 19, as a union official, he was already a devoted apostle of the Christian concept of labor, against the dominant Marxist socialism of his day. R. I. P.

► **AWARD.** For their services to interracial justice, William Duffy Jr., of Wilmington, Del., and George A. Moore, Cleveland TV commentator, will receive the 1960 James J. Hoey medal in New York, Oct. 30.

► **EDITH STEIN GUILD.** The 6th Annual Communion Breakfast of the association named after the famed Jewish philosopher, convert and Carmelite nun who perished in 1942, a victim of the Nazis, will be held this year in New York City on Oct. 15, following Mass at St. Patrick's. The recipient of the annual award will be Rev. Victor Jerome Donovan, C.P. For reservations communicate with Mrs. Elinor Paul, 31-34 99th St., East Elmhurst 69, N. Y.

► **CARDINAL'S RETURN.** An old friend and contributor (from his seminary days) to AMERICA, Aloisius Cardi-

nal Muench, former Bishop of Fargo, N. D., will return to this country from Rome in order to note the 25th anniversary of his episcopal consecration. Religious and civic ceremonies are planned for him Oct. 4-16 at Fargo and in his native Milwaukee.

► **MARY AS A BOND.** "The Vladimir Mother of God" is a 12th-century icon now kept in the Tretyakov Museum in Moscow, near the Kremlin. It will be honored at special devotional services in Boston, Sunday, Oct. 9, at the Boston College stadium. Richard Cardinal Cushing, Archbishop of Boston, will preach on the significance of Mary for the coming ecumenical council.

► **FILMSTRIP.** Helpful for discussion groups, religion classes and the like is a filmstrip (71 frames in color), with an accompanying record, designed to help young people make the morning offering a practical, vital force in everyday life (Apostleship of Prayer, 1114 S. May St., Chicago 7, Ill. \$12.50). C.J.M.

America • OCTOBER 8, 1960

Editorials

Khrushchev's UN Plans

JUST A FEW HOURS before the official opening of this year's session, the General Assembly of the United Nations, by a vote of 70-0, supported Secretary General Hammarskjold's handling of the Congo crisis. This firm rebuff of Soviet attempts to harass Mr. Hammarskjold came hard on the heels of the forced withdrawal of the Soviet "diplomatic mission" from the Congo under pressure from army strong man Col. Joseph Mobutu.

Premier Khrushchev's savage riposte to these two cutting lunges was given before the General Assembly on September 23 in a bombastic speech that was an affront to history, logic and common decency. The boring verbal bombardment was well summarized by Canada's Prime Minister Diefenbaker as a "gigantic propaganda drama of destructive misrepresentations." We will confine our editorial comment on Mr. Khrushchev's speech to just two of its major features.

Almost a third of the Khrushchev address was devoted to the problem of colonialism. While sanctimoniously denying that the Soviet Union is a colonial power, Mr. Khrushchev asked the UN to support a resolution calling for "immediate" as well as "complete and final elimination of colonialism in all forms." Thoughtfully, this proposal was couched in such language as to include abolition of all U. S. military bases overseas.

Even more sensational was Khrushchev's attack on the personnel, structure and location of the UN itself. He asked that Secretary Hammarskjold be ousted from his post, that the UN charter be revised in favor of a tripartite secretariat, and that consideration be given to transferring the UN headquarters from New York to some foreign site.

All these absurd demands add up to exactly this: Premier Khrushchev encourages world-wide anarchy and at the same time requires that the UN make itself completely impotent in the face of any crisis. By implication, the Soviet leader proposes that he be given a free hand to move on every potential front for the enlargement of the Russian sphere of influence. The fantastic character of these demands is evident after casual reflection on Khrushchev's speech.

The call for terminating every species of colonialism overnight is a sort of irresponsible Emancipation Proclamation which, if implemented, would produce a political chaos favorable to Communist penetration in dozens of sensitive areas. To advance the target dates for independence among all colonials without preparation would be to multiply the whole Congo nightmare over and over; not fifty Hammarskjolds nor a million UN troops could handle the resulting chaos. The very suggestion of "instant" freedom at such hideous cost is an insult to the intelligence of the people whom Khrushchev

hopes to woo by this crude appeal to the emotional issue of colonialism.

As for revamping the UN, the hollowness of Premier Khrushchev's demands is adequately revealed by his insistence that the UN secretariat be entrusted to a triumvirate reflecting Western, Communist and neutralist positions. Instead of having one executive who is above partisanship, the UN must have three executives, each of whom possesses a veto and merely reflects factional decisions handed down from the highest political levels. Such a change in the UN would hopelessly paralyze the entire operations of the UN Security Council and General Assembly precisely at the level of *action*, not just in times of crisis but also in the daily tactical maneuvers of the secretariat. The inevitable result of such a revision of the UN charter would be the debasement of this world organization to the status of a mere propaganda forum and powerless debating society.

Khrushchev did not soften his stand in the days following this speech. He hardened it by announcing that until the UN capitulates to his outrageous program, there can be no progress on disarmament, no relaxation of Cold War tensions. The UN will certainly not capitulate to this disguised form of nuclear blackmail. It will defend its Secretary General and its charter. There is no other choice in what could prove to be its finest hour, the hour in which it must tell the arrogant Soviet dictator to back down or walk out.

A Neutralized Africa?

WHEN President Eisenhower ascended the rostrum at the UN General Assembly on September 22, he faced what was perhaps the greatest galaxy of national leaders ever gathered together under a single roof. The ink hardly dry on their credentials, the representatives of 13 new African nations hung on his every word as the President appealed for the resumption of negotiations on disarmament, for aid to Africa and the other underdeveloped areas of the world, and for cooperation through the United Nations to settle the major problems of the world.

There was something of immense significance for Americans in the President's address. By implication Mr. Eisenhower drew attention to the striking evolution in U. S. foreign policy that has taken place in the last few years. True, traditional isolationism, dating back to the days of Washington and Jefferson, has been dead these twenty years. Nevertheless, it was left to the President to lay its ghost with his unequivocal pledge of support to the world organization. "To attempt to hinder or stultify the United Nations or to deprecate its importance," he insisted, "is to contribute to world unrest and, indeed, to incite the crises that from time to time so disturb all men."

More startling perhaps were the President's observations on Africa. No doubt with the recent Soviet intervention in the Congo in mind, Mr. Eisenhower proposed virtually to neutralize the entire continent of Africa to keep the Cold War far from its shores. "I propose . . .

a pledge by all countries represented at this Assembly to respect the African peoples right to choose their own way of life and to determine for themselves the course they choose to follow." If this means what it says, then it represents a dramatic, if not drastic change in our post-war foreign policy.

Throughout the postwar era our foreign policy has been dictated by the keenly felt need to resist an aggressive international communism. To this end we have sought to rally the peoples of the free world in their own defense. Convinced of the need to ring the Soviet bloc with a system of defense alliances, we were at times led to make of neutrality a moral issue and to assume that nations not with us were automatically against us. In short the defense alliance has been the cornerstone of our foreign policy.

We have been only partly successful. In some areas of the world, the policy has worked against us. It contributed much to the tensions in the Middle East a few years ago. It was responsible for the suspicion and antagonism with which such nations as India long viewed our every move in Asia. Yet, in the broad view, the policy has contained communism.

It is only logical therefore to look upon President Eisenhower's apparent sanction of neutralism with some trepidation. Certainly a neutralized Africa will not be achieved overnight. Africa is a vast and varied continent. We have military bases in Libya and Morocco; the British have theirs in Libya and Kenya. Areas still remain under Spanish and Portuguese colonial rule. Interpreted literally, the proposal of President Eisenhower would involve the evacuation of these points. Indeed, drawn to its logical conclusion, the proposal for a neutralized Africa implies the independence of Algeria, East Africa and the continent's Spanish and Portuguese colonies. For if, as the President advocated, Africa is to be rid entirely of external pressures, then logically these lands must be free.

As a tactical maneuver, of course, President Eisenhower's statement on self-determination was bound to win the approval of the African states. We may even have won a round against the Soviets in the UN. But is neutralism the peg on which to hang our foreign policy? And what does neutrality really mean in today's kind of world?

Save the Surface

ONE OF THE MARVELS on view in any U. S. supermarket is the ingenious variety of the packaging in which foodstuffs are displayed. The crinkly cellophane probably does keep the carrots and the broccoli cleaner and fresher, but you pay for the packaging, too. And the public is apparently willing to pay to keep people from coughing all over their green beans.

There is another type of packaging that's growing more and more elaborate, one that hides a cost that ought not to be paid. It's the wrapper of superb photography under which many motion pictures are offered to an indiscriminating public. *Elmer Gantry* and *From*

the Terrace, among currently showing films, and *The Alamo* and *Spartacus*, soon to be box-office hits, almost overwhelm one with photographic virtuosity. This is especially true in the massive spectacles of battle in *The Alamo* and of gladiatorial contests in *Spartacus*. But as one is swept along in these tumultuous scenes, one is paying a price—the price of having sensitivity about violence, brutality and bloodshed numbed by the very photographic excellence of the films.

Battle scenes, to be sure, cannot honestly be depicted by having brawny warriors hurl marshmallows at one another, but there is a happy mean between that and the close-ups of pierced throats, shattered limbs and brain-oozing heads almost lovingly lingered on by the see-all cameras. The modern spectacular film, in sequences like these, has been stricken by the artistic plague of realism run riot.

It is not enough to retort that drama has always been a violent and bloody business, that there was plenty of gore on the Shakespearian boards. The trouble is that what was once employed as integral culmination of the action is now being sensationally elaborated with sadistic overtones.

Who Paid the Tab?

NOBODY takes old Cy Eaton's meddling in foreign affairs any more seriously than people took Henry Ford's peace ship a generation ago. Millionaires are allowed eccentricities not permitted ordinary men. We wonder, though, whether that luncheon for Nikita went on a capitalistic expense account.

New Look at Charities

THE 1960 meeting of the National Conference of Catholic Charities, September 23-27, in New York, was a whole lot more than a commemoration of the golden jubilee of the NCCC's founding. By reason of the thoughtful observations advanced by several speakers at the convention, it proved also to be the occasion for a re-evaluation and restatement of the Church's philosophy concerning its role in the field of charity and social welfare.

It was Msgr. John J. Egan, pioneer director of the Chicago Archdiocesan Conservation Council, who pointed to the problem of the changing urban communities as "the most important area of social concern which the Church faces in midcentury America." Indeed, the dimensions of the social and economic dislocation prevailing in so many neighborhoods in transition challenge the total resources and ingenuity not only of the parish but of the diocese and, in fact, of the whole of our society.

The Catholic Charities movement can do something to ameliorate the evils faced in slums or in neighborhoods threatened with social disorganization as a consequence of rapid, massive shifts in population. But, as Msgr. Egan stated, "the immoral economic exploita-

tion of minority groups by the 'better elements' of the community" demands that a concerted attack be made against it "with all the educational media and disciplinary sanctions which the Church is capable of bringing to bear." Moreover, the very enormity of these problems—community-wide in scope as they so often are—makes it necessary to recognize that they can be approached successfully only by united action on the part of the whole community—"in an atmosphere of cooperation among all the churches and welfare agencies which represent its indigenous make-up."

Equally stimulating and even more authoritative, in light of the speaker's present dignity and his long years of leadership in the work of the NCCC, were the words of Washington's Archbishop Patrick A. O'Boyle. He summoned the delegates to take a more positive position in the face of any philosophy leading to "absolute control by the state" in the field of charity.

There is a change in the thinking of today, a change that will not only permit but even demand of us a more positive approach. America has matured greatly in her social philosophy. We have seen the development in the past three decades of a social security system, a system of laws that protect human dignity and rights, and a philosophy of public welfare that is often in close harmony with our own Catholic philosophy. There is no reason why it should not be so. Certainly, there should be no fear of a monopoly in charity, for in the ministry of human service there is work for everybody to do.

Few signs point to any slackening in the decade ahead of demands for action along the lines of Catholic Charities. To be sure, as Archbishop O'Boyle remarked, "in those things that represent purely material needs, the state will have a larger duty, because of its concern with the common welfare and its ready accessibility, through its taxing powers, to the means of financing it." But side by side with the efforts of the state must always go those undertaken by Catholic individuals and agencies, because "those who benefit are people with souls, with spiritual needs."

Bogotá Was a Beginning

"WE WILL direct the evolution of our countries—our masses will direct their revolution." This grim prediction refers to the 21 republics of Latin America. The prophet who uttered it was Foreign Minister Turbay Ayala of Colombia, speaking at the economic conference sponsored by the Organization of American States in Bogotá last month.

Latin America's statesmen feel that they are sitting on a time bomb. The vast region, with a population of 200 million (20 million more than the United States), is growing at the rate of 5 or 6 million annually. Yet the combined gross national products of the 21 nations amount to only one-eighth of the GNP of the United States. Not only that, but Latin America's economic situation gets relatively worse each year. While the prices these countries pay for their imports are on the

rise, the prices they receive for their exports—largely raw materials and food and fiber commodities—and the volume of foreign private investment in their economies are both falling. Latin America's ability to support itself is not keeping pace with the needs of its people.

Meanwhile a world-wide revolution in communications media has made the Latin American masses aware, as never before, of the material well-being enjoyed by happier lands, by the United States in particular. The man in the street in Managua and La Paz knows about our TV sets and fin-tail cars, our hospitals and schools, even if he is an illiterate: he has seen them in the movies. The result is a spreading demand for higher standards of living and for the social and economic reforms which will ensure them. This demand could explode into revolution under the inspiration of Fidel Castro and his Communist allies.

The great appeal of communism to the intelligentsia of underdeveloped nations is not the promise of a classless utopia. What attracts them is the hope that a Communist dictatorship, using totalitarian measures, could rapidly, if ruthlessly, industrialize their backward economies. That is why the success of Red China is so carefully watched in the "uncommitted" countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The only basic and long-term solution to Latin America's economic crisis is a far-reaching industrialization. That will require large-scale accumulation of capital, with the constant temptation to resort to Communist methods to achieve it. The misery of the masses, if it continues unrelieved, will present not only the temptation but the opportunity for demagogic leaders to seize control.

In the face of this threat there is much that the Latin American Governments can do, by raising income taxes, curbing inflation, reducing trade barriers and fostering political stability. The Catholic bishops in several of these countries have strongly urged necessary tax and land reforms. In the Act of Bogotá of Sept. 11, all but two of the Latin American republics pledged vigorous action for progress in land reform, low-cost housing, education and public health.

But these measures will not suffice to bring Latin America's revolutionary pressures below the danger point. The region cannot accumulate from its own resources the development capital it needs. Large-scale aid from outside must be forthcoming.

The wealth, the power and the traditional leadership of the United States in the Western Hemisphere impose an obligation on us with respect to Latin America. We have made what we ourselves call "a first step" with a pledge of \$500 million in aid at Bogotá. Yet it will take more than half a billion dollars to give our neighbors to the south the ability to support themselves at a decent standard of living.

The sums required of the United States may be painfully large. But as *Time* remarked on Sept. 12, "The U. S. choices seem to be only two: give Latin America help, Marshall-Plan style, or see the area hunger perilously and indefinitely." When the Castros have taken over, it will be too late to make even that difficult choice.

The Foreign Policies of Richard Milhous Nixon

Robert Pell

GENERAL Dwight D. Eisenhower will go into retirement at Gettysburg on January 21, 1961. He will be succeeded in the Presidency by John F. Kennedy or Richard M. Nixon. Both the Republican and Democratic parties agree that foreign policy will be the primary concern of the next Administration.

The next President, who will probably be the fountainhead of American policy and action for most of the 1960's, will not function in a vacuum. The range and impact of his policies will be conditioned by the stark realities of the international scene. Richard Nixon suggests that he is better equipped than his Democratic rival to deal with this plethora of tensions, any one of which may shift the world balance of power. As a participant in most of the foreign policy decisions of the Eisenhower Administration, he has developed a keen sensitivity in foreign affairs. This has been confirmed by his visits to 54 countries for the President and his contacts with most of the leading statesmen outside and inside the Communist orbit. In a word, Mr. Nixon has come to "speak the language of diplomacy" which springs from the trial and error of long experience.

Thus, while Richard Nixon recognizes that a Great Power must have a continuity of foreign policy, he does not mean by this that the United States should be confined to old thought patterns in the field of foreign affairs. He intends to have a drive and thrust of his own, a color, a determination, an insight and a dynamism. Furthermore, he will give close attention to nuances, which is his special aptitude, and he will have his own cool-headed strategy.

Mr. Nixon recognizes that the first test will come in his handling of the Cold War with Soviet Russia and its Communist associates. The grim reality is that Russo-Siberia is a central focus of power in the heart of Eurasia and the largest single land mass on the surface of the globe. It is dedicated to communism. The controlling factor in current international relations is the sustained attack on the Western community by the Communist bloc. Mr. Nixon believes that General Eisenhower's successor to the Presidency will have

A lifetime of dedication to the problems of foreign policy gives depth and authority to this article by ROBERT PELL. The author is a veteran of thirty years in U.S. foreign service.

a solemn obligation to inform and educate the American people with regard to the realities of the Cold War and international communism.

At the same time Richard Nixon affirms strenuously that it is not enough to decry communism. The alternative to communism is not simply to leave the world as it is, "ignoring the misery and inequity on which Communism thrives." The United States must show that it, too, has a positive program and a mission, not only to bring material aid to suffering peoples but to promote the fundamental freedoms everywhere.

A POSITIVE ANSWER TO COMMUNISM

What is needed when there is a gathering sense of power combined with a sense of indirection, is aim. This the President of the United States will have the sacred duty to provide in the next decade. He can do no better, in Richard Nixon's opinion, than draw on the principles of the American Revolution, which has given mankind the highest kind of public life hitherto known: classless democracy based on technical progress. The positive continuation of the American Revolution is the best answer to the negative revolution of communism.

Mr. Nixon is thoroughly versed in the theory and practice of communism. Moreover, he is not a man who is impressed by wishful thinking with regard to communism's ebb and scare propaganda regarding its flow. Thus, he will be the first to welcome an improvement in the East-West climate. At the same time he is cautious about negotiating with Soviet Russia at a time when the high priests of Marxism wield the rapidly developing military might of the Communist bloc.

But this decidedly does not mean that Mr. Nixon excludes the possibility of negotiation with Khrushchev altogether. He is inclined to favor the marginal hope against hope in the possibility that a time may come when the Russian dictator will be prepared to make real, not shadow, concessions in the foreign field. The road to a modus vivendi with the Soviet Union may be long and hard. But it is worth a try, in Richard Nixon's view, as the sane alternative to mutual annihilation.

This does not mean that Mr. Nixon is deceived by suggestions that in the intervals of relaxation between the peaks of tension which it provokes, the Soviet Union has "changed." The next President cannot base

his policies on the possibility that change, evolution or revolution will come to the Soviet empire in the near future. Instead he must seek to formulate agreements in which Soviet Russia's self-interest is involved. If agreements are sought in this sense, the small group of men who dominate the millions behind the Iron Curtain will be more apt to live up to their obligations.

In the field of international relations the unpalatable fact is the necessity of dealing not even with this small group of men at the head of affairs in Soviet Russia but directly with one man: the Soviet dictator, Nikita Khrushchev, who holds absolute power as Premier and Party Secretary and who largely makes decisions for the Communist bloc. This raises the question whether summit diplomacy should be attempted once more. It can be said definitely that Mr. Nixon does not exclude the possibility of summit diplomacy. But he does not believe that it should be exalted into a normal political practice.

COEXISTENCE AND DISARMAMENT

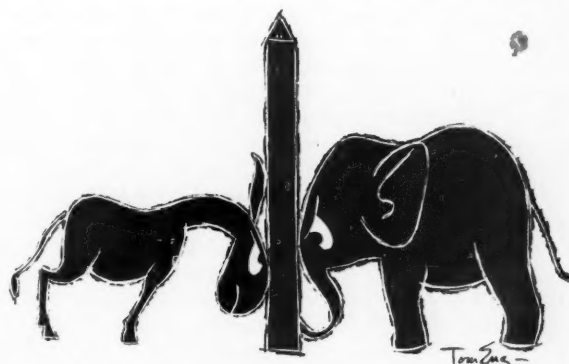
This raises the question of "coexistence," and it may fairly be asked if the Republican candidate believes that the United States and the Soviet Union can coexist peacefully and equitably in a world shared by communism and capitalism. The answer is that Richard Nixon welcomes two-way coexistence and has no doubt as to the outcome of peaceful competition fair and square. At the same time he rejects "peaceful competition and coexistence" in so far as it is a negative concept, that is to say, if it connotes that the Cominform will continue and even heighten its subversive activities in areas outside the Communist bloc. Mr. Nixon is firm in his refusal to admit Khrushchev's concept that the situation in the portion of the world under Communist dominion is settled, that in other words the tide of history has passed over it for good and that the Free World is to be henceforth the sole battleground in an unremitting struggle between Communist and free ideologies. Coexistence must work both ways or not at all. A bi-polar world cannot be accepted with a wall between a closed Communist area and a "free for all" area outside the Communist orbit.

Discounting "total disarmament," Richard Nixon stands for measures to limit and reduce armaments and armed forces subject to general acceptance of adequate controls. Concomitantly he stresses that there can be little more than fragmentary and perhaps regional reductions coupled with strict inspection until the heavily armed nations are prepared to grapple with measures of security which will lessen the dependence on arms.

He will explore every reasonable avenue of approach to a solution of the arms problem and concomitantly to a solution of the problem of nuclear weapons testing, coupled with a moratorium on underground tests. At the same time Candidate Nixon warns that stopping of nuclear tests is not of itself going to reduce the danger of war. The types of weapon already in production are adequate for an armed clash. Control of the production of nuclear weapons is the only formula which goes to the heart of the problem and guarantees peace.

Around the world, in the meantime, the Soviet Union challenges the United States and the West everywhere, stirring up trouble in each sector in turn with the ladle of revolution. In Eurasia, besides the Soviet Union, there are the three peninsulas with approximately equal areas and populations—Europe, China and India. Then there are the pendant areas to Eurasia—South East Asia, the Middle East and Africa. Off the coasts of Eurasia there are the island Powers of Great Britain, which is the center of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and of Japan. Finally, floating in the oceans like two large islands, are North and South America, with lesser islands in the Caribbean.

Contemporary Europe is split down the middle. On one side of the Iron Curtain lie the nine captive nations which have been forced into a satellite relationship with Soviet Russia. On the other side of the Curtain are the ten nations (excluding Great Britain and Canada) bound together and to the United States in Nato; the four neutrals, namely Switzerland, Sweden, Austria and Ireland; Spain, which has a bases agreement with the United States; and Tito's Yugoslavia which, although Communist, is in a status of "non-alignment" with the Soviet Union. Hanging like a



Damocles' sword not only over Europe but over the whole world, is the problem of Germany and the corollary issue of West Berlin. This is a problem which must be solved if there is to be some real assurance of durable peace. Conversely, if it remains a burning fuse, the German question may light the powder keg of war.

Richard Nixon spent many a long evening thrashing out the implications of this German issue with the late John Foster Dulles. He is convinced, as the Secretary of State was, that for the security of the West, notably of the United States, West Germany must be kept in the Western orbit, bound progressively by political, economic and military ties. It is his conviction likewise that the reunification of Germany, which must never be lost from sight as an ultimate objective, can become a reality only when the situation in Central Europe has eased to a point where free, untrammelled elections can be held throughout Germany, East as well as West. Clearly this is not feasible in the foreseeable future with East Germany held captive by Soviet Russia. The only alternative is to maintain strictly the status quo in Central Europe. No concession should be made to Mos-

cow which would involve a weakening of West Germany or a recession of the American power position in Europe with West Germany as the principal base.

Mr. Nixon would be prepared to consider reasonable formulae for the solution of the Berlin problem. But he positively will not negotiate under Soviet pressure. The United States has every legal right to be in Berlin, and there can be no question of surrender in the shadow of a Soviet ultimatum. Furthermore, the United States cannot ignore the fact that it has an unbreachable moral obligation to the 2.2 million people in the city. As President, Nixon would never enter into an agreement which would in any way jeopardize the right of the people of Berlin to choose and retain the kind of government that they want.

Inextricably bound up with the problem of Germany is the situation of the captive nations. In this area Mr. Nixon contends the United States is playing chess, not fighting a judo match. The U.S. Government should refrain from any act or deed which might encourage the enslaved peoples to undertake violent revolutions when, because of the risk of local or general war, it is not prepared to help them. Anything it can do should be done to fortify the satellite governments to become as independent as possible of Soviet domination, moving by small steps to a status of relative independence.

The captive nations constitute the West's hidden deterrent, the element of uncertainty, which the Soviet Union is obliged to take into account in its strategic planning. No real relaxation of tensions will be possible in the captive area until the Soviet Union has been brought to apply the principle of self-determination to the satellites.

Many nostrums have been put forward for the solution of the critical situation in Central Europe. Perhaps the most persistent has been "disengagement," which originated with the Communist bloc and was taken up by several prominent Democrats, notably by George Kennan. Briefly, "disengagement" would consist in a mutual withdrawal of Western and Eastern troops from a zone to be designated in Central Europe. This would be coupled with a reunification of the two Germanies in a "neutral confederation," East and West Germany each to preserve its essential character and ideology but both to be loosely united with a capital in a "free" Berlin.

It can be said that Mr. Nixon rejects "disengagement" as a Soviet ruse to trade a rabbit for an elephant. For him it is a device to reduce the American armed presence in Europe on the way to eliminating it altogether. "Disengagement," in Mr. Nixon's view, would be a fatal blow at Nato without any Western gain.

Mr. Nixon believes that the United States should aid every independent nation in Europe, including Yugoslavia and Spain and the neutrals. But above all the U.S. commitment to Nato should be strengthened and preserved. The United States can negotiate with the Soviet Union effectively only if it negotiates from strength. It must be made clear to Khrushchev that Nato, which is the principal link between the United States and Continental Europe, is here to stay.

The second massive peninsula of Eurasia is China, and the American relationship to China, which has become Communist and is building up a frightening power potential with 2.5 million men in active service organized in pentomic divisions, is one of the pressing problems which will come before Richard M. Nixon if he is elected President.

RED CHINA—AND INDIA

Mr. Nixon, it can be said quite positively, believes that it is highly dangerous to stress political differences between Soviet Russia and Communist China and to predicate policies on a potential collapse of the existing alliance between Moscow and Peiping. He is convinced that for the foreseeable future Moscow and Peiping must be assumed to be what they say they are, that is, close allies bound by the 30-year Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance of February, 1950, and united in doctrine and aim. Candidly, Mr. Nixon is wholly reluctant as a consequence to "move forward" toward formal recognition of Peiping. Quite aside from the moral issues involved, there is, Mr. Nixon points out, the question of the overseas Chinese—eleven or twelve millions of them—scattered throughout the area bordering China with the main points of concentration in Malaya, Singapore, Thailand and Indonesia. After recognition—with its corollary, the admission of Communist China to the UN—the overseas Chinese would owe their allegiance to Peiping. Subversive action would be stimulated in all the countries where they are located, with a consequent imbalance which might push these countries, which talk a tightrope anyway, over to the Communist side.

There is the further consideration that recognition of Communist China would constitute an act of betrayal of America's Asiatic allies. The effect throughout Asia would be "disastrous" in Mr. Nixon's view. As a consequence he holds for a strengthened barrier to Communist Chinese expansion in South East Asia through Seato. He advocates "boxing" the outlaw Chinese Government with air and naval bases and a mobile striking force, until it shows a minimum disposition to obey some of the rules of a civilized state and live with its neighbors in a reasonably genuine stable status quo.

Some day, when Peiping modifies its ideology, changes its aims, relaxes its pressures on Taiwan and other Asiatic nations, withdraws from its forward position in Southeast Asia and takes minimum conciliatory action like releasing American prisoners, it might be possible to reconsider the "hard" policy. But with Mr. Nixon it is not a question of *whether* with regard to Communist China. It is a problem of *if*, and, much more remotely, *when*, in dealing with a regime which has transformed a weak, fragmented nation into a monolithic totalitarian state in an incredibly short period of time and is projecting its influence far beyond its borders. The present prospect, Mr. Nixon concludes, is one of prolonged struggle between our country and Communist China. The best that the United States can hope for is that this struggle can be waged by non-military means.

The third principal peninsula of Eurasia is India, with a population of over 270 million and an area two-fifths the size of the United States. The problem of Indian leaders, notably Prime Minister Nehru, since independence has been to organize one nation from a congeries of nationalities, languages, cultures and races in a subcontinent. They have sought to accomplish this while clinging to "neutrality" and "coexistence" with Communist China as basic principles of foreign policy. Neutrality is under strain at the present time, owing to the growing threat of Communist China to India, but the Indian Prime Minister continues to be cool to Seato, hostile to involvement with the West and disposed to gloss over "differences of ideology" with Peiping. Meanwhile it is clear that India cannot solve its economic problems by itself and must turn for help either to the West or to the Communist East.

Mr. Nixon is deeply concerned by the problem presented by India and underscores the sharp contrast between Communist China, which is trying to achieve economic progress by forced draft under conditions of slavery, and India, which is trying to achieve the same end with freedom. In Mr. Nixon's opinion, what happens in India will have a tremendous impact on the decisions made by other "neutral" countries. Accordingly, the program of loans and technical aid to India should be given top priority.

FIVE DANGER ZONES

Flanking Eurasia are the pendant areas of Southeast Asia, the Middle East and Africa. Southeast Asia is a crisis area, behind which lie the three great power and population blocs of the Soviet Union, Communist China and India, which grind steadily against each other. Clearly the role of the United States is to hold as much of this area as possible with the West. The Seato and bilateral alliances must be maintained and strengthened. But above all, the United States must place itself in the forefront of the battle against hunger and want.

The problem is that these countries are exploding into nationalism at a time when nationalism has less meaning in economic terms than at any other time in history. The solution is to provide a framework in which production can be adjusted to market demands and the flow of raw materials to industry can be organized across national lines. It is not only capital which is needed. Equally important are imaginative programs. Here America can do much. Above all, private American initiative is essential.

A second pendant to Eurasia is the Middle East. Mr. Nixon has long focused his attention on the Middle East with its intricate tangle of political, economic, religious and emotional complexities. For instance, he personally urged the despatch of Under Secretary of State Robert Murphy as trouble-shooter to settle the Lebanon crisis. Many other times he has intervened in Middle East matters. The worst course, in his view, is to generalize with regard to this area or oversimplify the solutions. A profound transformation is under way, in which an emergent nationalism passionately rejects an impotent, preindustrial, feudal condition. The Amer-

ican aims must be to support and encourage the emergent Jewish State of Israel, come to working terms with Arab nationalism and use every suitable occasion to stimulate progress toward a mutually acceptable solution of the Arab-Israel conflict based on a recognition by both of each other's existence and independence. At the same time the United States must bar Soviet imperialism from the region, limit shipments of arms to the Middle East, insist that the Suez Canal be opened to transit by all nations including Israel, strive for a cooling-off period politically and assist the local entrepreneurs in resources development.

The third and final pendant of Europe is Africa, where the rise of numerous new nations is a source of internal and external strains. Mr. Nixon has a vivid realization of the tremendous potentialities of the great African continent with its 220 million population in all stages of development. He believes that it "could well prove to be the decisive factor in a world-wide conflict between the forces of freedom and international communism." He has a profound understanding of the aim of the African leaders to stimulate their underdeveloped economies while warding off any form of foreign intervention and at the same time developing and maintaining governmental institutions based on principles of freedom and democracy. He is convinced that the African leaders can succeed, given intelligent support of their plans and programs, investment of private capital and loans from international agencies such as the World Bank.

Next, off the coast of Eurasia there are two island powers, Japan and Great Britain. Japan, ever since the Communists came into power in China, has been their major target. At the same time it has remained the cornerstone of American power in the Far East. Japan occupies a key position and is a prize for East or West, whichever can tip the balance in Asia. In fact, it is the only nation in Asia which is theoretically capable of developing sufficient military power to serve as a counterpoise to Communist China and a challenge to it in political, economic and industrial terms.

Mr. Nixon is confident that those elements of the Japanese parties and people which are friendly to the United States are in the majority and will prevail despite the vortex of competing pressures in which they are caught and the surface agitation in the country. A steady expansion of U. S.-Japanese trade must be encouraged, and this in turn will make Japan less vulnerable to pressures from Peiping. Moreover, our country must assure Japan of its support in the event that Peiping adopts a policy of economic "club" instead of "carrot." In sum, the United States, in Mr. Nixon's view, must encourage in every way the emergence of Japan as a strong, stable, independent and democratically oriented state in Asia as a counterbalance to Communist China.

To the west of Eurasia, commanding its water communications, lies the island group of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. Mr. Nixon has stressed repeatedly that "in these difficult times the United States has no better or more loyal friends than the United Kingdom

and our other allies among the nations of the British Commonwealth." No two peoples are more closely bound by a common heritage or have closer political and economic interests. It is not only important to maintain the Anglo-American Alliance as the greatest guarantee of world peace. It is essential to renew it constantly, taking account not only of the institutions which bind it together but of the diversities which explain different attitudes to common problems.

THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE

Finally, there is the U. S. home base in the Americas, and Richard Nixon is deeply concerned over U. S. relations with the 20 republics of Caribbean, Central and South America. He feels that the emphasis in the post-World War II period has shifted too much to other areas, with the consequence that our foreign policy toward Latin America has been characterized too greatly "by start-and-stop, by big talk and very little action." This must be changed, because the inter-American group of nations, which comprises all of the independent countries in the Western Hemisphere save Canada, is strategically of paramount importance to the United States, is by the accident of geopolitics the area in which our country has a paramount responsibility and is basic to any American policy program. The welding of this sector into a smoothly running community capable of defending itself must be a first concern of American diplomacy.

The U. S. should have a specific policy for each of the 20 American Republics. It should continue to raise the Organization of American States, our common meeting place, into a viable instrument which will have real meaning. The U. S. should work with the men in Latin America who are determined to do something about poverty and disease. Specifically, it should help these countries overcome their endemic lack of development capital, concert with the more prosperous republics to close the gaps which are widely prevalent in many places between the poor masses and the prosperous oligarchies, back diversification in single-crop countries and support industrialization in the preindustrial areas.

In the political sphere, Mr. Nixon is emphatic that we should stand firm for the principle of nonintervention. But nonintervention should not apply exclusively to the United States which cannot sit by and let communism dominate any Government in the Americas. As he has stated: "For communism to come to any one of the republics is the very foreign intervention which is incompatible with the principle of nonintervention." But resistance to communism must be concerted with that of all the American states in OAS.

Mr. Nixon is a firm believer in the UN as it is, not as some visionaries would have it be, nor as the timorous fear it may become. As long as the Soviet bloc maintains its aggressive policies, which are reflected in the veto at the UN Security Council, the UN cannot be the seat of effective world concert—Mr. Nixon rejects the concept of the UN as an embryo world government—and it must remain essentially what it is: an effective clearing house for diplomatic business and a

forum where the whole range of international interests may be aired. Mr. Nixon proposes to continue the American practice of having an Ambassador of top rank and competence at the UN, who will maintain the high standards established by Henry Cabot Lodge.

Finally, when it comes to the machinery of foreign affairs, Mr. Nixon is deeply conscious that the President under the American Constitution has the primary responsibility to formulate and direct foreign policy. He is aware also that because the United States occupies a position of leadership in world affairs, American political, military and economic power has to be modeled on a scale commensurate with American responsibilities. Basically, he shies from "blueprints" and questions "reorganizations." Men are what count, and each President's personality and work-methods differ. No system of lines and squares can allow for his particular imprint. No rigid system should limit his leeway of direction or his manner of control. The President must have a free hand in turning the wheels to his liking.

Only if this is the case, will decision, which stems from the President, be translated smoothly into action.

Mr. Nixon is aware that the machinery of foreign policy as it exists at the present time calls for some streamlining and coordination. He proposes to make full use of the skill and experience of his running mate



Henry Cabot Lodge as a coordinator of the civilian agencies operating in the foreign field and to have at his side a trained Secretary of State of unimpeachable character who is persona grata to Congress.

Candidate Nixon is aware that the President must furnish leadership in the foreign field, and he is conscious of the fact that strong leadership requires continuity of aim, coherence of design and tenacity of purpose, coupled with a hard, cold appreciation of what the obstacles are which block or retard the realization of American objectives. Mr. Nixon, stressing his Quaker background, underscores that he is a "chance taker" when it comes to preserving the peace.

Moreover, he is insistent that our independence cannot be considered as separate from the freedom of other nations. The United States, in consequence, has a stake in helping its allies as it expects to be helped by them. At the same time, it must have an alert new stride in the space age and a President who will not only have mastered the great international issues of our time, but will have the imagination and the sound judgment to carry the American people with him. Such a President Richard Nixon humbly hopes to be.

War Safety Control

Howard G. and Harriet B. Kurtz

DURING RECENT YEARS the United States and several other powers have invested enormous sums in the technology of annihilation. The purpose of these expenditures is to provide national security. But the same scientific effort that has given us modern weapon systems has also made genuine national security impossible. We have reached the point where, even if defense budgets were tripled, no nation can assure its people security against scientific attack.

Despite the fact that the safety of any one nation can be guaranteed only when the safety of all nations is simultaneously assured, we have neglected to invest resources in the technology of national security. While we spend billions on armaments and even on the problem of putting men in space, scarcely a dime is being spent on the technical aspects of making the earth safe against war.

Even so, science and technology now have within their power the possibility of working a modern miracle. The same large-scale research and development that produced the hydrogen bomb and the intercontinental ballistic missile stand ready to attack the more difficult problem of creating a highly complex, scientific organization of physical-safety systems that can make the world safe against future wars. All that is missing is political leadership broad enough to comprehend the national-security needs of the world and to realize that world security and national independence are not incompatible.

Perhaps a development through questions and answers will best bring out in brief compass some of the technical and political requirements of *War Safety Control*.

Q. *How would War Safety Control function?*

A. War Safety Control would be a world-wide security force of men and scientific instruments. Its first task would be to monitor thousands of daily events. A system of global communication networks would constantly feed data to electronic-computer centers

where the material would be evaluated. The system would be ready to flash urgent warnings if any nation were to begin clandestine operations aimed at building up military power or threatening international peace. Cadres of inspection teams, under UN auspices, would remain on the alert to investigate situations of potential or suspected danger. Garrisons of troops would remain mobilized to prevent any threat or outbreak of war.

Q. *Is there any way to make clear the workings of such a fantastic system? Suppose, for example, that some nation were to begin secret preparations for a surprise attack with some radically new weapon made from a chemical "X" that was an ordinary raw material of industry. How would the safety system determine whether such a material was being diverted to illicit underground factories?*

A. An extended analogy may help to bring out one possible approach to the problem. Consider, for example, the "Link Tracer" that came from the laboratories of Link Aviation, Inc., and is now being installed in every bus in Chicago. It is a small plastic unit containing miniature circuits for receiving and sending radio signals. Now when the bus passes over energized cables that are laid at intervals under the street, signals energize the coils in the tracer and it transmits its coded identification number to a receiver by the road. The code signal then moves to the dispatcher's office, where a visual board shows the exact location of the bus at that moment. If there is a breakdown, to cite one possibility, the dispatcher can detect the halting of the bus and via radio send a repair truck to the exact spot.

The next market for this invention may be our railway system. We already have marshaling yards where electronic devices sort out the cars from incoming freight trains. These yards are automated except for one detail: someone has to inform the computer in what order the cars are approaching. But if each car is provided with a tracer, it can report its number and position miles away from the yard.

It would be technically feasible to go further than this in controlling tank-car movements of chemical "X" under War Safety Control. Each car could be audited by electronics to make certain that it went straight to its legitimate destination. If any

MR. KURTZ, a management consultant and former colonel in the U. S. Air Force, has been writing for several years on the problems of international security. MRS. KURTZ is currently a graduate student at Union Theological Seminary in New York. The above article is a condensation of copyrighted material that will appear in a projected book.

car were diverted or delayed at some isolated junction, the electronic monitor could set the warning system in action and thus send an inspection team speeding to the scene of the presumed violation of security.

Q. Isn't the development of such a complex system a mere exercise of fancy?

A. We will not know until military establishments around the world which now busy themselves with war games also begin to busy themselves with "war safety games" that can "prove out" the strategies of war prevention. War safety doctrines will have to be hammered out against the unambiguous conclusions of thousands of continuing tests involving all the possibilities of starting war secretly by traditional or exotic means.

That is precisely why War Safety Control is such a tough intellectual challenge for the military, as well as the scientific mind. We have to put exploratory teams at the very horizons of man's knowledge. The effort will be long and expensive. At each new insight gained, our teams will have to "game out" the capability of that insight for employment in the establishment of an enforceable prophylactic discipline against war.

Q. But suppose some new Hitler were to arise with big dreams of world conquest?

A. When and if a War Safety Control system were to become a reality, no Hitler could frighten his own people with scare talk about surrounding enemies. There would be no enemy forces surrounding his people; neither would our new Hitler possess an army of his own. There would be no national armies anywhere. All the enforcement power of the world, dedicated to the common security, would be in the hands of War Safety Control. Yet even this military power would be primarily a non-lethal military establishment!

Q. What is the meaning of a non-lethal military force?

A. This could be illustrated by simple examples. If we imagine some border clash arising between two nations, the disturbance could be quelled by employment of aircraft which could blanket the area with various kinds of tranquilizing gases. These gases, which would not be dangerously toxic, would literally make the lion lie down beside the lamb. In the case of more serious clashes between opposing groups that had somehow secured old-fashioned arms, modern chemical weapons could be used which could put an entire population to sleep for 48 hours, thereby providing time for War Safety to bring the situation under its control. Although these examples may seem fantastic, the fact is that such new means of exercising police action through chemistry have already been developed in the labo-

ratories of chemical warfare, a whole new arsenal of merciful "psychic weapons" is basically at hand. There would be no need to use live ammunition except in a last desperate repulsion of violence.

Q. What will happen to present defense forces?

A. When and if a War Safety Control organization proves its capacity to prevent future war, nations would gradually pass through a period of phased disarmament. This would provide for an orderly elimination of all national military forces, down to those levels of force which are needed to maintain domestic law and order.

Q. How would the War Safety Control relate to the United Nations?

A. It would be the task of the future to integrate the safety system into the organization of the United Nations in such wise that there would be created a tradition whereby the UN would 1) dedicate itself to securing the physical safety of all peoples against war, while 2) remaining unrelated to the political systems of the member nations.

Admittedly this would be a tremendous task—of the same order of magnitude as putting men on the moon and getting them back to earth again. Its successful achievement will demand large-scale political research and inventiveness. Effective machinery must be developed to provide the checks and balances and other political means which will guarantee us that the War Safety Control system does not itself become a tyrant over the minds of men.

Q. But would not the safety system be in fact a world government?

A. No. Under a War Safety Control, each nation would remain sovereign in its internal affairs. All that any nation would be asked to give up would be its "right" to commit national suicide through war and to liquidate its opponents in the process.

Here, too, an analogy may be helpful. When you are flying blind in a cloud, the danger of collision is always present. It is the inherent danger of such flying that brought into existence the technical system called Air Traffic Control. ATC is not world ownership of airlines. It is not a means of exercising jurisdiction over flight origins or destinations. Under ATC each pilot remains in control of his airplane and is responsible for its welfare. But, on matters that relate to the possibility of a collision, each pilot gives up one small area of his authority. He yields up to ATC the "right" to put his craft in flight conditions that might bring death to his own passengers and those in other airplanes.

Q. Plans such as the War Safety Control always run into one insurmountable obstacle—the mind of the Kremlin. Would the Kremlin accept such a system?

A. Have you ever heard of a commanding general who rejected a winning strategy because the enemy general disliked it? This is just the reason why we have consistently lost the battles in the Cold War. War Safety Control is something that can be turned into a winning strategy, if we handle it correctly.

In order to develop a winning strategy, we must first bring ourselves to realize that no nation can now provide for the security of its citizens against scientific attack; we must also realize that there is no safety in the future until some kind of world order provides safety for all nations together.

Secondly, we must understand that while the Kremlin has been working strenuously toward its own version of world order for many years, the United States has never considered or planned for a specific world order that would insure the basic security of all nations against the threat of war.

Thirdly, if we want the full support and loyalty of all peoples on both sides of the "Anxiety War," we must make a determined effort to understand the basic needs of all men.

All over the world today people are obsessed with fear of some foreign power. Nobody is exempt from terror. We shall not find relief from anxiety by more



deeply involving ourselves in threats of mutual annihilation. What we need is a powerful campaign to create some form of War Safety Control, within the United Nations if possible, that will assure the security of all men everywhere and exorcise the fears that obsess and divide.

Loyal military men of every nation who have sworn to give their lives in defense of their country could do research together on the elements of a system that would protect their own nationals as well as the citizens of other states. Scientists and engineers everywhere could surely engage in the development of a safety system that would in the end be in the best interests of the security of our common humanity. And we must have the confi-

dence that if the people of all nations can find hope of security in a War Safety Control, the massive grass-roots pressure of their demand for it will change the attitudes of those national leaders who do not genuinely desire national security.

Q. Is there a role for religion in this search?

A. By supporting the development of a world security system and the growth of the UN as a stronger world organization, religion can for the first time put its force behind a security system which covets security for others, even our enemies, just as we covet it for ourselves. Without doubt, persons of every religious creed will find it more Godlike to support a system that sets a high value on human life everywhere than to approve of military policies that can only lead to the extermination of friend and enemy alike.

Q. What action can we take now?

A. First, the Department of Defense should create a center for studying the military and scientific devices that would enter into a War Safety Control. The Department of State should establish a similar center for investigation of the political and diplomatic machinery that are imperative in such a system. The U. S. Information Agency should undertake to study world public opinion and national motivations so that their strength may be marshaled in support of a world security organ. Even the White House could establish a center for the development of a winning foreign policy, a policy that would be aimed at regaining our own security through finding world support for a security system that would make the entire globe permanently safe against the threat of war.

Secondly, a call should be made for free, private research into all these areas by foundations, universities, professional societies, etc.

Thirdly, we should make a determined effort to expose the reckless politicians everywhere who attempt to exploit the insecurity of their people for purposes of personal or national aggrandizement; we must test and prove their insincerity by calling on the help of all the world in exploring the possibility of a War Safety Control.

Finally, each of us can endeavor to enlist the help of those who are in a position to advance the cause of basic physical security for everyone in the world. We can call War Safety Control to the attention of editors, commentators, government and military men, our religious leaders and our friends—all those who have a personal stake in sheer physical survival amid the threats of mutual annihilation. After all, security in the right to live is the most basic of all goods that are sought in civil society. Until that good is secure for all men everywhere, there can be no enrichment of the common good of mankind anywhere.

World War on Want

Benjamin L. Masse

IT IS A MATTER of common sense, as well as the teaching of the Church, that the natural resources of the earth are intended by God to support all those living on the earth. So far as their own countries are concerned, people have no trouble accepting this truth. They may, and do, differ over applying it to a specific set of circumstances (as Americans differ at the present time over the question of decent living standards for migrant workers) but that every individual resident in the United States has a right to access to our natural resources, either directly through ownership or indirectly through wages, no one seriously questions. In fact, many people would go further and say that for every adult male non-owner the right to access to natural resources is equivalently the right to a living wage, not only for himself, but for his family as well.

The correlative of this right is a duty that falls variously on owners of property, on governments and on all adult citizens. Owners must give employment to non-owners on equitable terms. Governments must see to it that the laws and institutions of society are such that none of its citizens is denied access to natural resources. Finally, all adult citizens must be solicitous for the well-being of the social order and make their appropriate contributions to it.

THE BISHOPS SPEAK ON JUSTICE

On this doctrine, as I say, wide agreement exists. Confusion arises only when the doctrine is extended to other nations and to the world at large. To dissipate this confusion, from which Catholics are not immune, the Australian bishops recently issued a remarkable pastoral letter, which was read in all the Catholic churches under their jurisdiction on September 4—"Social Justice" Sunday. Since the thesis of the pastoral has global implications and is, if anything, even more urgently pertinent to this country than to Australia, it will be worth our time to consider a brief synopsis of it.

The starting point of the Australian statement is the most explosive fact of our careening times—the inhuman conditions under which a large part of mankind lives. Desperate as the plight of hundreds of millions of people is, it threatens to become worse unless

FR. MASSE, S.J., recently returned from a study tour around the globe, during which he observed the economic needs of 14 countries, has been an associate editor of AMERICA for almost twenty years.

the "have" nations of the world mobilize for an all-out war on want. As the Australian bishops write:

The poorer retarded areas are contributing far more than their share to the growth of the world's population, with the result that the great advances in science and technology are being made in the countries which have the least need of them in terms of population expansion. So it is that current demographic trends tend to widen the gap between the privileged and the underprivileged nations. The rich are becoming richer, and the poor are not catching up.

What adds a grim urgency to the plight of these peoples—in Asia, Africa, the Middle East and Latin America—is that almost overnight they have escaped from the pall of resignation and hopelessness, born of ignorance and grinding poverty, that smothered them for centuries. Because their death rate has been drastically cut in a few short years, they now have expectations of a longer life; because they have come to know how other people live, through the cinema and popular literature, they also have expectations of a better life. The combination of increasing population (which is more the result of lower death rates than of higher birth rates) and the "revolution of rising expectations" is rocking governments to their foundations throughout the underdeveloped world. (The day after the bishops' pastoral was read in Australian churches, President Alberto Lleras Camargo of Colombia warned the opening session of the Bogotá conference on economic aid that unless the "crisis without precedent" in Latin America was met by a "vast operation" of economic assistance, the consequences would "overwhelm our institutions, our democratic systems . . . our liberties and peace itself.")

A good many people in the "have" nations—and some in the "have not" nations as well—panicking at the dimensions of the crisis, are urging the mass practice of artificial contraception as a necessary means of coping with the problem. Of course, the Australian bishops reject this solution—if it is a solution. (The Chinese Reds tried birth control and quickly gave it up.) "To develop the resources of the earth," they write, "is surely more sensible than to destroy human fruitfulness." After all, the bishops ask, what is the nature of the problem? "Are we confronted with a problem of overpopulation? Or is it not rather one of underproduction and maldistribution?"

In the course of arguing that the "population bomb," while not a dud, is considerably less lethal than it is

popularly believed, the bishops score telling points:

1. Overpopulation is not the same thing as high density of population. Nobody calls an urban area overpopulated simply because thousands of people dwell on top of one another in towering apartment buildings. Such an area is said to be overpopulated only when the poor inhabit it—when it is a slum area.

2. The problem of many underdeveloped countries is not too many people, but an imbalance of population and production. "If underdeveloped countries," the bishops write, "were helped by capital and technical assistance to develop the necessary industrial and social institutions, many of them would cease to be overpopulated."

3. To raise the production of these countries is not an impossible task; for there are no "insuperable physical barriers" to the abolition of want in the world—not in this age of automation. In this connection the bishops quote Lord Boyd Orr, former director of the UN Food and Agricultural Organization: "The only practical limitations to food production are the amount of capital and labor human society is willing to devote to it."

4. Although the task of abolishing want is not impossible, it is not easy either. The great obstacle, however, is not "the niggardliness of nature." It is "the dead weight of outmoded social and economic institutions which do not fit modern needs, but which are very difficult to change." This reference of the bishops to "outmoded social and economic institutions" applies to

the developed as well as the underdeveloped countries. They have in mind not only the scandalous disparity between the rich minority and impoverished masses which exists in so many of the underdeveloped countries. They are referring also to "traditional methods of exploitation by the more powerful nations in world trade." No examples are offered, possibly because the bishops think none are necessary. If we listen to our Latin American friends, we know, however, that the free market in raw materials is one of the traditional methods of foreign trade to which underdeveloped countries bitterly object. The world price of raw materials is notoriously unstable, so that, as things stand now, a sharp drop in the price of any of a half-dozen raw materials can nullify the benefits of an aid program for an entire year.

The bishops do not deny that some underdeveloped countries may be so lacking in natural resources that increased production must be supplemented by emigration. Neither do they deny that, generally speaking, "a more orderly distribution of the peoples of the earth" would help to raise living standards. At this "embryonic stage of international solidarity," however, they realistically see no great hope for freer movement of people. What is feasible, though, assert the bishops, is some internal migration within the underdeveloped countries themselves. That this is a practical proposal any visitor to the Far East can testify. Not long ago the Government of Vietnam started clearing the jungle from large areas in the uplands and already thousands

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of families have been moved from the crowded lowlands along the coast. A similar program should be even easier to carry out in the Philippines, where large areas of arable land are today unoccupied.

Against this background, then, of widespread distress and surging expectations, the Australian bishops call upon the economic powers of the world to mobilize against want with the same energy they would display in mobilizing against a military aggressor. "When a community is afflicted by any catastrophe," they observe, "the nations of the world are prompt in their charity." That they are not so prompt in dealing with the present crisis in the underdeveloped nations today is explained on the grounds that people are not so sensitive to "the demands of international justice" as they are to those of international charity.

CALL FOR A CRUSADE

This should not be, say the bishops. Human beings "are not isolated, independent individuals who just happen to live in the same locality, or in the same country, or even in the same world." They are members of a community and responsible for its well-being. As the bishops write:

Individualism and isolationism can amount to neglect of duty. In common with their fellow members of society, all must strive for a social structure, national and international, which will really—in fact as well as by right—promote the common good. All have, and must be conscious of, their duties as members of society, as well as their duties as individuals.

In other words, "men must have a social conscience as well as an individual conscience, and a global social conscience at that."

As if to cushion the shock of this teaching on minds accustomed to old isolationist and narrowly nationalistic ways, the bishops quickly add that they are not advocating a "welfare state or a welfare world." What they are insisting on is that needy peoples must in justice be helped "to help themselves so that no one will be without the necessities of life."

To that relatively small band of Catholics in this country who have taken the trouble to familiarize themselves with the thinking of the late Pius XII and the present Holy Father on postwar problems, the insistence of the Australian hierarchy on the obligation of international justice will come as no surprise. They recall the repeated insistence of Pius XII on the existence of a world community, whence the obligation of international justice derives. "The Catholic doctrine on the state and civil society," he wrote in the 1948 Christmas message, "has always been based on the principle that, in keeping with the will of God, the nations form together a community with a common aim and common duties." And the Pope went on to say that even when the teaching of this principle aroused "violent reactions," the Church "denied her assent to the erroneous concept of an absolutely autonomous sovereignty divested of all social obligations."

On numerous occasions the late Holy Father drew

the logical conclusions from the principle of a world community. In an address on December 8, 1953 to the UN Food and Agricultural Organization, with which the Holy See continues to collaborate, after describing the "marked imbalance" between developed and underdeveloped countries, the Pope said:

The civilized world always looks with great sadness at the pitiful picture of hunger victims at a time when the earth is capable of feeding all men. To abolish such an evil once and for all is certainly worth sacrifice and justifies great devotion.

Some years later, on January 19, 1958, the Holy Father told the Association of Large Families, an Italian organization, that overpopulation did not justify "spreading illicit birth-control practices." Instead, he explained,

It would be more reasonable and useful if modern society would make a more determined, universal effort to correct its own conduct, by removing the causes of hunger in the overpopulated or "depressed areas," through a more active use of modern discoveries for peaceful aims, a more open political policy of collaboration and exchange, a more far-seeing and less nationalistic economy; above all, by reacting to all suggestions of selfishness with charity, to those of avarice with a more concrete application of justice.

As will be readily apparent from these citations, the Australian hierarchy is proposing no novel doctrine to its people. It is doing no more, in fact, than bringing to their attention the teaching of the Church. Unfortunately, the complete text of the Australian pastoral is not at the moment generally available in this country. When it does become available, as it will eventually in the pages of the *Catholic Mind* and perhaps in other publications, many American Catholics will be able to read it with profit to their minds and souls. It offers a



strong antidote to the outpourings of certain publicists who, in their writings and broadcasts, show little knowledge of the Church's program for a just and peaceful world order.

Meanwhile, pending the publication of the Australian pastoral, we might brush away the dust and reread the magnificent annual statements of the U.S. hierarchy during the war years. There we shall find many rich variations on the theme of international justice: that "nations rich in natural resources must remember that ownership of property never dispenses from the social obligations of stewardship"; that "nations gifted with inventive and productive genius are obligated to serve the reasonable needs of other nations"; that, in a word, we live in one world, and that world is God's.

BOOKS

Looking on the African Problem

A NEW EARTH

By Elspeth Huxley. Morrow. 288p. \$6

Mrs. Huxley writes of the human problems of the peoples of Kenya with a sensitivity and grace born of a deep affection. Because we in America have been unexpectedly and abruptly thrust into major responsibilities in Black Africa, Elspeth Huxley's views relate to our security and pocketbooks as well as to our sentiments.

In some respects this book is too persuasive; dealing solely with the tribes of Kenya, it tempts the reader into generalizations concerning Black Africa as a whole. This is unfortunate, for a primary fact to be taken into account in any practical approach to sub-Saharan African affairs is the mind-staggering diversity of peoples, customs and ecologies that confront the outside observer. Another flaw in Mrs. Huxley's viewpoint—at least from the hardheaded outlook of the American taxpayer who may have to meet the bill—is her understandable nostalgia for the vanishing Africa of her childhood.

So the end has begun; and with that old, traditional way of mending furrows will go the songs and laughter, the roasted oxen and all-night dance, the tests of skill and courage for the young men. Progress will make them into clerks and storekeepers, messengers and teachers, contractors and pimps, houseboys and politicians, instead of the masters of the rivers high above the plain on their splendid mountains.

This distrust of Progress (Mrs. Huxley's capitalization) runs like a personal aria throughout the book. It may be a legitimate attitude for a sensitive observer, but it is a dangerous concept for anyone who would seek to participate in bringing order into the turmoil that is Africa today.

The clearest point made by this book is the gravity of the handicap to African development involved in the cutting up of the land into what amounts to tribal reservations. Colonialism (though Mrs. Huxley does not admit it) is basically responsible for freezing African communities into these uneconomic units. Before the advent of the white man, African lands lay open to tribal groupings in terms of their ability to organize themselves for strength in war and production. To some extent there was

a balance of primitive efficiency. The East Africa Royal Commission Report of 1953-55 puts the matter more bluntly than the author of this book:

We think that there is no hope of progress for Kenya except by its development as an integrated economic unit. By the present policy of exclusive tribal reservations, and under the various obligations by treaty, agreement and formal declaration . . . Kenya in particular has been divided up into a number of watertight compartments none of which is or can be made economically self-sufficient. and the frustrations of the last twenty years have been largely due to the failure to recognize that fact.

Mrs. Huxley brings to life in admirable thumbnail sketches the magnificent devotion of the British agricultural expert to the welfare of the people he serves. Her understanding of the indigenous politician, however, and his essential role in a great social and economic upheaval is at the best obtuse. The United States is now launched,

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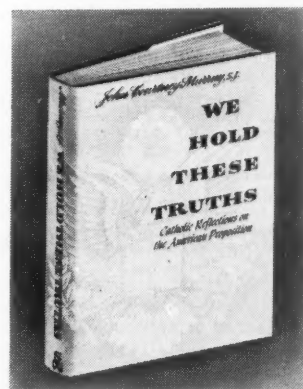
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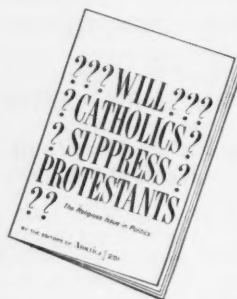


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with an initial \$20-million appropriation by Congress, on an educational intervention into the African revolution. This book has much to teach us both in regard to the human needs and attitudes of the African cultivator and the prejudices and blind spots as well as the achievements of the colonial administrators.

THOMAS R. ADAM

Darwin's Contemporary

A CONSCIENCE IN CONFLICT

By Jacob W. Gruber. Columbia U. Press.
266p. \$6.50

One of the forgotten players in the evolutionary drama of the 19th century is the biologist St. George Jackson Mivart. He was a close friend of Alfred Russel Wallace, co-expositor of the theory of natural selection, and a man who has never been given the justice deserved by his scientific originality.

In this well-documented biography the author is concerned "not so much with the man as with the mind." Emphasis is on Mivart's intellectual production and not on the pedestrian details of his living.

Mivart was a complex personality. A convert to Roman Catholicism at age 16, decorated by the Pope in middle age, he was excommunicated by Cardinal Vaughan near the end of his life. The key to his character is given concisely by the author: "His estimate of himself made it imperative that he assert his own personality and not become a subordinate cog in the system of any other." His writings reveal him as pompous, positive and convinced "that to him were given the keys of wisdom." In short, he lacked intellectual humility. This characteristic drove him from his Darwinian friends and eventually forced him out of the Church.

Gruber shows, however, that despite these character difficulties Mivart made many fundamental contributions to biology—especially to primate anatomy. In many ways he was ahead of his times. His separation of man's line of evolutionary descent from that of the anthropoid apes was a preview of our current scheme for human evolution. Mivart's recognition of symbolic behavior as the key human component in man's mind is strikingly contemporary in viewpoint.

Unfortunately, Mivart alienated the materialistic scientists of his day chiefly by unwarranted personal attacks on their fellows. He infuriated English Catholic leaders by pontificating on subjects clearly not within his compe-

tence, such as the nature of hell. Both groups were glad to assign him to oblivion. Moreover, he left no students to carry on and develop his ideas. Consequently, "Mivart's influence upon the thought of his own or immediately succeeding scientific generations was insignificant."

This is an excellent book, well-written and filled with quotable passages and keen evaluations. Gruber is fair in stating both sides of the controversy between Mivart and Church authorities. He admires Mivart's dedication to reason, but recognizes that the Church could not permit the man to rewrite theology.

Anyone interested in the history of biological thought must read this book. The educated Catholic will enjoy it as revealing another facet of those wonderful, turbulent years when Newman, Darwin, Huxley, Mivart and others thought and wrote.

CHARLES G. WILBUR

More Than Glitter

A GODDESS NAMED GOLD

By Bhabani Bhattacharya. Crown. 280p.
\$3.95

Sweet as the jilebi they relish, but more subtle, are five women of the Indian village of Sonamitti. They are also much more attractive and effective than their name, the Cowhouse Five, implies. They marched with banners against the English lion in years past, and now, on the eve of freedom, they protest against the financial bonds of the rich village Seth, or the money lender and mortgage holder for all.

Led by their youngest and bravest member, Meera, and aided by the Seth's wife, they win their fight for a fair price for cloth. When they cross the Seth in politics by campaigning against him, he is determined to beat them. With this skirmish appears a minstrel, Meera's grandfather, who is believed by the whole village to have extraordinary powers. He stays only long enough to sing for them and to give Meera an amulet, purported to have the power of turning copper on her person to gold simply by her performance of an act of kindness. Soon Meera, who dreams of buying away the problems of the whole village, finds herself a business partner of the Seth, and her body is loaded with copper ornaments and coins. The girl, whose beauty has always been heightened by acts of kindness and heroism, is suddenly questioning the nature of kindness. Her business partner believes in



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helping nature along and is constantly manufacturing situations which demand her goodness.

Bhabani Bhattacharya, who lives in Nagpur, is at his best in this novel, his third to appear here. It is a simple yet subtle story of an Indian village, remote from the center of political awareness and caught on the threshold of freedom. Bhattacharya's humor is delightful; his compassion for the poor, and their struggle to grasp at independence only to find themselves in financial fetters, is deep. The situations which spring from the partnership of Meera and the Seth are, ideally, both wonderfully comic and near-tragic.

All of Bhattacharya's people come alive; each is a mixture of good and bad, of wisdom and foolishness. This refreshing glimpse of life, so unlike our complicated existence, underlines common humanity and goals.

MARY K. SWEENEY

PETER PERRY

By Michael Campbell. Orion Press. 203p. \$3.50

In Dublin's fair city there is a closer camaraderie, a truer Bohemia of those with creative talents, than any other city or nation presently knows. The city is small. Everyone knows everyone else who writes or paints, or just intellectually carries on, as it were. Come Friday night at the "Pearl" on Fleet Street and every writer of prominence or lack of it is hobnobbing with his fellows, gossiping like mad.

In a novel where satire has the unusual tinge of affectionate compassion, Michael Campbell has caught and brilliantly delineated that facet of Dublin a tourist never sees. His plot is beautifully simple. A young country lad of good family up for Trinity College is constrained to board with an eccentric aunt on Fitzwilliam Square. Nothing much happens except the swirl of Dublin's raffish Bohemia about Aunt Peter Perry.

But Aunt Peter is real; her friends have reality. Campbell has a talent for characterization, and for the exact speech that builds it, that no present writer in Ireland shares.

For those who do not know an inner Dublin, it is a captivating story in itself. And outside the simple plot and deeper characterization, Dublin of today in wind and rain and infrequent sun is evoked in little warm touches that most unusually make the reader see the Georgian city plain. A book of kindly wit, of affectionate charm.

DORAN HURLEY

THIS SPORTING LIFE

By David Storey. Macmillan. 243p. \$3.95

Books about athletes or athletics are common enough, but usually they are written or "ghosted" by professional writers. David Storey, however, a former professional football player with the Leeds Rugby Football Club, has published a novel which won the Macmillan Fiction Award for 1960. The wonder is not so much that a professional athlete wrote a novel as that the novel is as good as it is.

This Sporting Life is as masculine as a hobnail boot, and yet it displays a sensitivity and a literary polish that would do credit to the most painstaking feminine writer. The explanation of this anomaly must lie in the fact that David Storey, who is pictured on the dust jacket in all his massive, adamant ruggedness, studied at the Slade School of Fine Arts and has become good enough at his craft to merit a one-man showing of his paintings. Behind the hirsute virility, as in the case of Ernest Hemingway and Thomas Wolfe, exists the delicately attuned talent of an artist.

The author dwells very little on the bone-jarring clashes on the rugby field. Rather, he directs our attention mainly to the off-the-gridiron life of the hero and his associates in a small industrial town in northern England. Arthur Machin works in a factory during the day and in the off season and rents a room from Valerie Hammond, a widow with two children. Soon after signing a contract with the sporting club that sponsors the local rugby team, Arthur wins a measure of adulation among the fans by his headlong, sometimes ruthless style of play.

But the autograph-seekers, the sports cars, the wild parties cannot satisfy Arthur's intense longing for roots. He eventually becomes Valerie's lover, but although she desperately needs a man to fill the aching void in her life and to serve as a breadwinner for her children, she is temperamentally unable to give herself completely to Arthur. This failure to establish a rapport that could give both of these leonine characters the security of a legitimate family life produces the poignant and stormy drama of this novel.

The memorable lines from A. E. Housman's "To an Athlete Dying Young"—"And early though the laurel grows/It withers quicker than the rose"—might well suggest the theme of this impressive first novel.

EDWARD P. J. CORBETT

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Reviewers' Profiles

THOMAS R. ADAM, professor of political science at New York University, is author of *Government and Policies in Africa* (Random House).

CHARLES G. WILBUR is chief of the Experimental Zoology Branch at the Army Chemical Center, Md.

MARY K. SWEENEY was formerly on the reviewing staff of the *Catholic Universe Bulletin*, Cleveland.

DORAN HURLEY, a free-lance writer, is best known as originator of the short stories about Mrs. Crowley and "the old parish."

EDWARD P. J. CORBETT is associate professor of English at The Creighton University, Omaha, Neb.

SCIENCE

The Hurricane

The hurricane is a meteorological monster spawned in tropical seas. Our very name for these rampaging atmospheric voraces probably comes from an old Carib word that meant "evil spirit" or "storm god." But for the scientist, the Atlantic hurricane is identical with the Asiatic typhoon and the Australian willy-willy. The only difference is that the homegrown variety gets its start in the Gulf of Mexico, the Caribbean Sea, or more often in the southern stretches of the North Atlantic.

Everybody knows that the Weather Bureau nowadays christens every newly born Atlantic hurricane with a girl's name. The reason for this is neither humor nor sentiment, but the need for a short, easily pronounced identification tag in emergency situations. When Ione was zooming in on Washington, D. C., back in 1955, the local weather number was dialed 395,000 times in a single day.

Names like Donna and Ethel also point up the fact that every hurricane has an individuality of its own. When we talk of these storms in a general way, we have to use broad averages to cover their characteristics.

Hence, in general, we can say that

the hurricane season runs from May to October; outside these six months, hurricanes are rare. As for frequency, Atlantic hurricanes have averaged about eight per year since 1890. Their span of life runs around nine days, although a duration of five weeks is not unknown. Even the size of hurricanes varies considerably, but usually a fully developed storm stretches over a diameter of about 400 miles.

Only a hardy meteorologist would assert that he knows for sure how a hurricane is born, and perhaps we are foolish to outline the most popular current theory in a few sentences. But it would go like this: Somewhere on the ocean, a low-pressure mass of hot, moist air, squeezed by opposing trade winds, starts rising up a heat chimney in a spiral movement. As the air rises, it cools. As it cools, the water vapor condenses and heat is given off. The heat further warms the rotating air, which becomes even lighter and rises more swiftly. Meanwhile, more hot, moist air swirls in at the bottom of the chimney—as much as a million tons a second. Thus moisture and heat feed the growing monster at an increasing pace; in a few days it has turned into a symmetrical storm of wind, cloud and rain—a low-pressure heat engine that tends to sweep west and then veer north like a steam roller out of control.

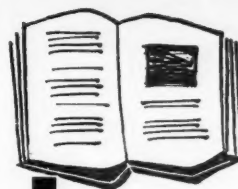
Fortunately, every hurricane has a suicidal mania. Its northern motion deprives it of new heat. If it rolls over land, there is no water to feed it. Both factors cause the hurricane to dissipate its energy budget in a few days.

The most unique part of a hurricane is its eye, a central area about 14 miles in diameter where the wind is no more than a breeze and the sun shines fitfully through filmy clouds. Seen from the eye, the inner edge of the hurricane looks like a curtain of cloud that may rise seven miles high. This circular surface represents the region where the centrifugal force of the spiraling winds just balances the pressure that tends to force the air inward toward the center of the storm.

The chief destructive forces that are associated with the hurricane are tides, floods and winds.

Historically, the most dangerous spot to tarry in during a hurricane is a coastal area. As the hurricane moves toward the land, it drives a mighty surge before it, one that acts like a tidal wave. The Galveston hurricane of 1900 killed 6,000 people; most of them drowned in a tidal surge.

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from three to six inches of rain over a million square miles. In limited areas, the total rainfall commonly reaches 20 or 30 inches. It was flooding that caused most of the deaths and damage done by Diane in 1955.

As for property damage, most of it is due to wind. Most hurricanes attain wind velocities of at least 100 miles per hour sometime during their life. Back in 1955, Janet touched 175 miles an hour at Chetumal, Mexico, before the anemometer disintegrated. Engineers who studied the effects of a big wind that swept the Florida Keys in 1935 estimated that its gusts must have reached 200-225 miles per hour.

Obviously, every hurricane is a titan of energy, even though its mechanical efficiency is abysmally low. An average hurricane expends heat energy at the rate of 16 trillion kilowatt-hours per day; that's 8,000 times the total electrical energy generated each day in the United States. The energy budget of a respectable hurricane is equivalent to 500,000 atom bombs every 24 hours.

Such a fantastic quantity of energy shows how hard it will be to kill a hurricane, unless we can find some weakness in these giants that will enable us to trigger off a self-destructive chain reaction while they are still at sea. It has even been suggested that the way to nip a hurricane in the bud is to pop off an atom bomb in its eye while it is still a baby. The trouble with that suggestion is that we don't know enough about hurricanes to estimate the effect. The bomb might dissipate the baby's strength. On the other hand, it might only rouse the baby's fury and make it squall more lustily.

L. C. McHUGH

FILMS

SUNRISE AT CAMPOBELLO (Warner). This is a screen version of Dore Schar's biographical drama about the psychological and spiritual triumph of Franklin D. Roosevelt over crippling infantile paralysis at the beginning of his political career. The most surprising feature is Greer Garson's performance.

We first encounter her in the film as an off-screen voice calling to her children. The voice captures with uncanny accuracy the inflections of Eleanor Roosevelt's odd, high-pitched, rather inadequate manner of speaking. Next the camera comes in for a close-up, and we see that make-up wizardry has al-

tered the star's facial configurations so that she somewhat resembles Mrs. Roosevelt. We have an uneasy feeling that this is close to caricature and may interfere with, rather than enhance, the picture's impact. But, no. Miss Garson soon makes us forget the superficial trappings of the role. She settles down to create the image of a shy, homely, but indomitable young woman who, as much as her on-screen husband, matures and expands under the challenge of adversity.

It is quite a job of acting. Coming from Miss Garson, whose screen roles have mostly consisted of carefully tailored variations on her own personality, it is a revelation. The rest of the principal players match her in excellence, though not in the display of hitherto hidden depths.

Ralph Bellamy recreates his unforgettable performance of F.D.R. from the day when, a vigorous man of 41, he is struck down with polio to the night three years later when he rises on his braces and crutches and takes the ten longest steps of his life—to the podium in Madison Square Garden, in order to place the name of Alfred E. Smith in nomination for the Presidency at the 1924 Democratic Convention.

Hume Cronyn is asthmatic, acidulous Louis Howe, Roosevelt's friend and political adviser, and he is the picture's much needed and perfectly valid comedy relief. Ann Shoemaker is the elder Mrs. Roosevelt, as formidable a dowager and impossible a mother-in-law as anyone ever had to cope with.

The play was workmanlike rather than inspired. As a film, though it has been given a handsome Technicolor production and the added scope of exteriors shot at Campobello and Hyde Park, its joints creak a little and its construction seams tend to show. Also, I don't suppose that any dyed-in-the-wool Roosevelt non-admirer will be able to accept it either as fact or as a nonpolitical tribute to courage. Nevertheless, for everyone else the picture is such an absorbing and inspirational human drama and footnote to history that it altogether transcends any structural flaws. [L of D: A-II]

THE DARK AT THE TOP OF THE STAIRS (Warner) is another adaptation of a successful Broadway play—in this case, William Inge's semi-autobiographical recollections of family dislocations during his boyhood in a small Oklahoma town about 1920. The story centers around his father (Robert Preston), whose masculine pride and self-respect have been shattered be-



Free Press photo by Vince Witek

These actors, directors and members of the backstage crew launched University Repertory Theatre this summer.

AMERICA'S JESUIT EDUCATION SERIES Spotlights

Campus Repertory Theatre at the

University of Detroit

A unique structure of campus theatre is the University of Detroit's Repertory Theatre, launched this summer in a tent with "Antony and Cleopatra" and "Arms and the Man." It will continue through the regular indoor season with four plays, opening October 15 with the Detroit premier of Eugene O'Neill's "Touch of the Poet." This play and three others, Shakespeare's "Measure for Measure," Shaw's "Man and Superman" and a new translation of Goethe's "Faust" will continue through May 14.

This repertory plan, several plays produced on alternate evenings on a rotating schedule, with essentially the same casts, will continue on a weekend production basis.

Critics hailed the program as "a unique and fruitful return to the system that has made English theatre great." Directors of the University of Detroit Theatre (a unit of the Communication Arts Department) see invaluable experience for actors and production students, a greater opportunity for other students and the community to see the plays.

CRITICAL COMMENT: "Stunning Success," Barnard, Free Press; "Imagination, consistency," Gill, Times; "A torrent of movement and emotion . . . thrilling," Mossman, News; "Fresh, sparkling," Callaghan, Free Press.

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS:

LAS Arts and Sciences	ILL Institute of	RT Radio-TV
AE Adult Education	Language and	S Social Work
A Architecture	Linguistics	Sc Science
C Commerce	IR Industrial Relations	SF Sister Formation
D Dentistry	J Journalism	Sy Seismology Station
DH Dental Hygiene	L Law	Sp Speech
Ed Education	M Medicine	T Theatre
E Engineering	MT Medical Technology	
FS Foreign Service	Mu Music	AROTC Army
G Graduate School	N Nursing	NROTC Navy
HS Home Study	P Pharmacy	AFROTC Air Force
	PT Physical Therapy	

C-49

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cause the automobile has destroyed his
livelihood as a harness salesman, and
his mother (Dorothy McGuire), who
is half-estranged from her husband be-
cause of constant quarrels over money.
The two children (Shirley Knight,
Robert Eyer) have their own emotional
difficulties because their mother, out of
her own unhappiness, has overprotected
them.

The film version, in Technicolor and
on what seems like a cavernously large
screen, is disconcertingly uneven and
has evoked reviews ranging all the way
from raves to blasts. Despite occasional
crudities, I found much of it moving
and perceptive, especially its depiction
of the good traits—and the narrowness
—to be found in small towns and of the
havoc that can be wrought when self-
righteousness and lack of understand-
ing masquerade as virtues. [L of D:
A-III]

MOIRA WALSH

THE WORD

*God, we beg You, please, to make this
offering in every way blessed, consec-
rated, approved, reasonable and ac-
ceptable; that it may become for us the
body and blood of Your dearly beloved
Son, our Lord Jesus Christ (The second
prayer of offering before the Consec-
ration in the Mass).*

The final offering-prayer before the
Consecration in the Mass is notable in
two ways: for its formal, heavy, legalis-
tic language and for the first specific
reference in the liturgy itself to the
approaching Consecration.

In its nature this supplication does
not differ from all the other entreaties
in the Mass that God be pleased to ac-
cept the sacrifice. At first acquaintance
one might feel surprised and even faintly
irritated by that liturgical refrain of
unworthiness, but presently we recall
that here, in the unique religious act of
sacrifice, we find the creature in direct
dealing, on the highest level, with his
Creator. In the relationship between
man and God there is never room for
smugness and complacency and self-
assurance on the part of man, and the
closer man approaches to God—as, par
excellence, in the Mass—the less reason
exists for breezy presumption. The Holy
Sacrifice is, along with so much else,
a surpassing exercise of the three the-
ological virtues, but our hope, too, like

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our faith and our love, rests and centers upon Christ. Our Saviour in His lifetime had certain sharp comments to make concerning *some who had confidence in themselves, thinking they had won acceptance with God.* . . .

The prayer asks that almighty God make and render our offerings thus and so—and the liturgy employs five separate adjectives to specify its request. We beg God to make our oblation *benedictam, adscriptam, ratam, rationabilem, acceptabilem*. The weighty, quasi-forensic terms seem to say: "Make our offering *blesed*, that is, sacred, no longer secular and profane; *recorded*, that is, officially and properly noted down and therefore set aside or dedicated, consecrated; *approved*, that is, ratified and so valid and legitimate; *reasonable*, or essentially fitting for rational man to offer to all-knowing God; *acceptable* to Your divine Majesty."

The reader is struck by the solemnity and deliberate formalism of the language here. It must not be that we draw near to the heart of the sacred mystery jocularly or casually or lightly.

And now at last we ask with a kind of wonderful simplicity that the earthy, material bread and wine *become for us the body and blood of . . . our Lord Jesus Christ*.

It is so fitting that at the moment before the Consecration the priest at the altar, in all his naked, human mortality and feebleness, appeal directly and, as it were, desperately, to the infinite power of God. I am a man. Who am I, that I should undertake to change one substance into another? What a supreme and mad alchemist I must be if, by any will or device of mine, I would fashion the living Christ out of coarse food and drink! But I am a priest. And therefore I will do this unthinkable thing—but not without final appeal, before I utter the unutterable words, to the awful might and majesty of God. *God, we beg You, please, turn this, upon the altar, into the body and blood of Your dearly beloved Son, our Lord Jesus Christ.*

All is now ready. There is stir in the soundless world of the supernatural, and around the altar, however humble, troops of invisible, pure spirits come to reverent attention. By a sure instinct the people in the church grow strangely quiet. The priest, who ought to be frozen in a kind of incredulous paralysis, quietly composes or rather numbs himself. We are ready for the coming of the Lord.

Be it so, then; come, Lord Jesus.

VINCENT P. MCCORRY, S.J.

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Quiz for Catholics

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- How did mass stipends originate?

- How was the Crucifixion an act of worship?
- How did the Low Mass come into being?
- How was the Trinity revealed in the Old Testament?

WHY?

- Why does the Church have a list of forbidden books?
- Why is Papal primacy essential for Christian unity?
- Why was the temptation of Christ necessary?
- Why do Catholics believe the Church is infallible?
- Why is mortification evidence of love?
- Why does the priest kiss the altar at Mass?
- Why is free will essential to human beings?

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